National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE STANDARD OF TRUE LOYALTY.

BY C. D. B. MILLS.

THERE is hardly a more fruitful source of embarrassment and confusion among us, than the lack, thus far, of a genuine standard, a true and solid norm, by which the attitude and conduct of our fellows, as also ourselves, may be tried and adjudged. We have made some expenditure in the late years, ostensibly for purposes of loyalty; a long and grievous war has on the part of the North been sustained, as is widely affirmed, to maintain and vindicate the cause of a just allegiance. This word is on every lip, and judgment is every where passed swiftly and confidently enough on sentiments and parties among us, describing this one as loyal, the other as disloyal, and yet strangely as would seem, to this hour we have not reached clear and true definition, have not attained to right, intelligent, and fit use of the term.

For Loyalty is not any conventional or arbitrary affair, attaching *per se* to certain institutions, defined in adhesion to and support of given political arrangements and organization, the voice and will mayhap of the sovereign masses. It grounds deeper, has its basis in and life from truths and substantial facts far back of and superior to any forms of voluntary action among men. Expressed in a word, we may say *it is fealty to the supreme obligations*, to the high behests of Justice, Mercy, Truth; or again, obedience to the supreme and only Potentate. It enjoins reverence and practical honor for those claims which our fellows as men prefer upon us—emphasized especially in the case of the exposed, the friendless, the poor, the wronged—as above and before any obligations whatever to social compact, to State, to church, to society itself.

Through their relation to these sovereign ideas, as symbolic and representative of justice and humanity, as such and such only the voluntary forms of organized action among men prefer claim for respect and allegiance. Their authority is delegate, derived, drawing moment by moment its vital breath from the higher source, and passing instantly from their hands when they cease to be true symbols. To lay the emphatic stress upon an institution or political organization, be it called constitution, union, government, or what I may, to insist that here is the standard and touch-stone absolute of loyalty, is to set up a name as comprehending the thing, and furnish easy occasion of blindness, besotment, and gross and cruel idolatry. All this history richly testifies, the records of the past abundantly illustrating that here with communities and with nations has generally been the beginning of the *descensus averni*, the log-king becoming quickly transformed into the devouring snake-king. Once your institution is made paramount, *per se* sacred and inviolable, it becomes the shelter of falsehood and oppression—the fit nidus, too, in which crimes, conspiracies and treasons are brooded and hatched. It was devotee-worship of Jewish institutions, of that state and ecclesiastical polity, that crucified Jesus, and begat the swarms of factionists and conspirators that cursed with such unutterable woes the last days of the sacred city.

Well, in our own country, loyalty has all along been defined as fealty to the American Union, to the Federal Constitution and government. It consisted in this—in supporting the Union *unconditionally*, postponing all else to that one paramount consideration. Clearly in this we have the first symptoms of fatal disease, the natural occasion of that besotted idolatry and gross wickedness which has followed. As a historic fact, the Union was tainted with guilt, was chargeable with consenting to and upholding the enslavement of our poor black brother. To ask us to support this Union at the expense, in this regard, of human rights, was to set up an idol for God, Moloch instead of Jehovah—to ask us to trample on loyalty, to become ourselves disloyal and rebellious. It was *to blot out and annihilate all ground upon which a standard of loyalty could be maintained;* it was making the government a monstrous conspirator, to brand as disloyal any one who would not, could not, be sharer in the conspiracy.

As a matter of inevitable consequence, it becomes exceedingly difficult to call and hold them to account, who, for whatever reason, have cast off their allegiance to the Federal Union. They may be men steeped in wickedness, intent in their every breath on crime, the animating purpose of whose revolt is to practice their darling sins more freely, with less interference and greater impunity. But, in your sovereign institution towards which you demand absolute allegiance, you have admitted that the supreme claim of heaven is not paramount—that it is secondary and subordinate, and may be rightfully postponed to subserve a political design. Consenting to sacrifice justice for the sake of an Union, where is your ground of accountability for those who give up and sacrifice the Union for the sake of injustice? We are afloat here; our house is on the sand; we drift netherwards inevitably.

So the history of this late war has been curiously and sadly enough instructive on this point. "Loyalty," say, in the border States, as it has been called, has been scarcely distinct at all from "Treason." The loyalist of to-day has easily enough become rebel to-morrow. A little more or a little less made the one or the other. A little more devotion to slavery, or a little less devotion, slavery being held throughout—provided always, of course, it be *loyal*—consistent with full membership in the American Union. Nay, in numbers of instances, the attitude of an individual was determined by the opinion he came to as to the comparative safety of slavery, its strength and perpetuity in or out of the Union. Of course Abraham Lincoln and the Republican party—the collective North, indeed—found it not a little difficult to deal with treason and rebellion, occupying such a standpoint. They had no rule of measurement, no standard of responsibility. God hath concluded them all in unbelief. Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that which he alloweth. And as baptized infidelity is always the mother of unbaptized Rome, of denial and scoffing atheism, so treason in the Union was the fruitful parent of treason out of the Union, "loyal" wickedness of "disloyal" wickedness and advancing crime.

The same trouble besets us still; for, notwithstanding the war and the heavy calamities therewith, notwithstanding the partial recognition by our people that slavery has somehow underlain our national sorrows, and it has been because we sold our brother into Egypt that these things have come upon us, we have not yet returned to a genuine allegiance, have not set up the standard of a true loyalty in our land. The Republican party, including its best elements, with all its loud-mouthed professions of loyalty and humane, progressive tendencies, avows its readiness to place the newly emancipated slave under the heel of his old oppressor, for the sake of securing restoration of the Union. It has declared itself eager for this through the highest representative organs. The best names in its membership, almost or quite without exception, endorse this policy of reconstruction.

What wonder that, with such loyalty, the disloyal elements should again revive and abound? Day by day, men drift back into the old sloughs; members of the Republican or the Union party slide away into the Johnsonian, the Copperhead, and the treasonable party. They find all afloat, and away they go. They were, mayhap, representative Republicans to-day; they become full-grown and representative Johnson men or Democrats to-morrow—loyal to-day, disloyal to-morrow. And what shall prevent them? They have undergone no radical transformation, in passing from one party to the other. In the Republican party, they may have given some sway to kindly and humane impulses; leaving it, they may have to hold these in abeyance. But in the Republican party, as out of it, the political philosophy is the same. The theory is accepted that Truth, Justice, Humanity, are to be held subordinate to the exigencies of condition, that greater is the Constitution and Union than any claim of Right. And on that leak sinks the ship. There is no stand to be made against the scourge and devouring flood.

It is a sad sight to see men struggling against their mis-education and perversions, their philosophy in conflict with their better nature. Anon, by their impulses to truth, their humane sentiments, they are prompted to assert, in a partial way at least, some claim of justice, to stand for it and make issue with the openly unprincipled around them; but soon, alas! they are taken in their own home, they are seized and borne away by some specious plea of expediency, advantage or necessity, which, in their theory, has always been allowed to be paramount, and they lapse, and drift, and sink, many to rise no more. The history of the agitation on slavery in our country has been full of significance in this regard, the law of their members bringing ever and anon multitudes of Anti-Slavery inclined people in subjection again to the law of sin and death. Such a defection smote the body of Abolitionists in '61, and a similar defection, less deep, perhaps, because they had less to face, has lately overtaken the Republican Congress. Some fall not wholly, dissatisfied with themselves, and full of inward protest and future resolve; others go headlong and senseless, like William H. Seward, Henry J. Raymond and J. R. Dpolittle to-day, lying prone in the quagmire, too besotted, too drunken, for shame.

There is no help, no deliverance, for us possible, but in returning to the primal standards, seeking out and observing the true allegiance to God. There has never been an hour, certainly since the outbreak of the rebellion, in which it was not the sublime privilege, as well as bounden duty, of our nation to build anew and on the everlasting foundations. There has been no hour in which this was not the nearest and most obvious—nay, the sole true door of deliverance. Let it make loyalty allegiance to the primal claims of Right and Human Nature, ordering all the institutions upon that, modelling the government of every State and the Union religiously upon that, holding, repressing and punishing as treason whatever sets itself up against humanity—and the days of our jubilee are come.

Men may declare this is a hard saying, making demand that borders upon the impracticable. In the political sphere, certainly we must consider, must concede, and conform, and temporize. Asking too much, we put all to hazard, and fail. We must be wise and practical. But disobedience to God is harder. To attempt to ignore the sovereign claim, to rest in half-measure, and partial issues, and mere policy, is sure only of disappointment, mortification, defeat. A four years' desolating war, with its multiplied calamities and sorrows, is the seal of Heaven's withering reprobation upon this unfaithfulness and sin in the past; an ominous sky and a gathering storm, imminent peril of another bloody war, foretoken his stern rebuke upon the like wickedness in the present. God never permits to any nation but one question—Christ or Barabbas? Denying the innocent and the just, they have a murderer granted unto them.

We stand now in the sharp crisis of our history—at the turning point, for aught we know, for ages. The voice of the Most High to the nation at this hour is:

> "Choose well; your choice is
> Brief and yet endless."

Return and seek the old paths, execute justice in the morning, hide the outcast, make common cause with the poor bondman you have outraged and stripped for ages, build all your life upon humanity, and the devouring scourge shall pass over, and your feet be set in sure place. Disregard this, go on and attempt to reconstruct and restore on policy of President or of Congress, it matters little which—disloyal and inhuman are they both—and the bolt of God's wrath shall quickly break again, and incomparably heavier than before. You shall be given over to be devoured by your own lusts and iniquities, and shall not see life. The hour of opportunity is now, and not long shall it wait.

IMPORTANT LETTER FROM GEN. GANTT.

WILLIAM D. KELLEY having requested of Gen. Gantt of Arkansas his views of the state of public affairs in general, and especially in the South-West, in connection with the policy of President Johnson, that gentleman replies, under date of July 19, in a letter full of such facts and figures as deserve the careful consideration of every reader and voter. Premising that the war being ended, the defeated party should "accept the situation," he thus sums up that situation:

"The unconditional surrender of the armies, as required by Gen. Grant, came first, and then the taking of the oath of allegiance by the citizens. The repudiation of the Confederate debt by the States and the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery were required by President Johnson as conditions precedent to restoration. Thus far had the President defined the situation when Congress met. After a careful survey of what the Executive had required, Congress thought it advisable to impose other conditions.

"The first was the Civil Rights bill, and the second the Constitutional Amendment. These requirements of the President and Congress, as I understand it, constitute the 'situation.' Which itself being accordingly defined, means accepting the termination of hostilities by an unconditional surrender of the armies; repudiating the Confederate debt; adopting the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, and incorporating its provisions in their organic law; granting to the negro all protection to life, limb, and property that any other man has, coupled with all political privileges except that of voting; agreeing to send representatives to Congress based upon the number of its citizens who are not disfranchised by organic law, as is done in the other States of the Union; and for a precedent to govern in the future, consenting to exclusion from office of certain persons engaged in the rebellion."

He then shows that immediately after the surrender, the leaders of the rebellion (and the masses would do as the leaders did) were content if they could have pardon and permission to earn bread for themselves and families. Such is not the case now. They are intolerant, supercilious and dictatorial. And they are as ready to deceive and bring to suffering the masses of the South as they ever were, if by so doing they can advance themselves. These Southern politicians, from vanquished being victors, having overcome the loyal element in the South, and being in undisputed control of all the State governments, except Tennessee and Arkansas, flushed with success, and no longer meek or modest, contemplate little less than marching up to Philadelphia on the 14th of August and dictating terms to the nation; or, uniting with the Northern wing of the rebellion, sweeping from power the very men to whom they surrendered in 1865.

Of the Philadelphia Convention—what it might do, and what it probably will do—Gen. Gantt says:

"Should the Philadelphia Convention fail to accept the situation, then the Convention of Southern Union men, which I see has been called, will become indispensable. It would be its duty, among other things, to make every appeal to the interests and patriotism of the Southern masses to cut themselves loose from reckless leaders, and bring repose to themselves and the nation by accepting the mildest terms ever offered to any conquered people throughout the history of all civil wars. For the sake of my own people and the welfare of the nation, I desire infinitely above all personal considerations that the country so long distracted should have repose. The way is clear if the Southern people will only seize it; and I don't care what party it breaks down or builds up, so it brings permanent peace to the people.

"But I repeat, they could have but one legitimate object at Philadelphia, and that would be to accept the situation and urge the Southern people to ratify their action. It is in their power to do so, and should they fail, whatever delay in restoration or paralysis in business may result from it will be clearly traced to them as having the power and yet not the will to end the strife. * * * * * Over all the tempest of war, one distinct characteristic has shown itself to the observant. That after each lull in the storm, and attempt and failure at adjustment, the mind of the nation, as if swept by a mighty sea, has moved toward the remotest point of this great struggle—equality before the law. The nation may well pause and see whether the situation as now tendered will be accepted at Philadelphia. If rejected there, it may transpire in some shape or other, that the last step will be taken, and the real situation, as legitimately resulting from the struggle, and, as I should then verily believe, intended of Providence, tendered for acceptance."

SPEECH OF HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

On the Admission of Tennessee; delivered in the House of Representatives, July 20, 1866.

THE House having under consideration the joint resolution providing for the admission of Senators and Representatives from Tennessee—Mr. BOUTWELL said:

MR. SPEAKER: I am not ignorant of the fact that the votes of the House already taken foreshow conclusively its purpose to pass the pending joint resolution for the admission of Tennessee. I can see many reasons which operate on the minds of others as they do upon my own mind tending to such a course; but after the most careful reflection during months and years I am still as deeply convinced as ever of the dangerous nature of this proceeding. While I am conscious that my voice falls upon unwilling ears; that it is the fixed purpose of the House in the presence of a great political struggle to adopt this measure, and though I am the humblest of the members of this body, with less right than any other man to address the country, and with no hope whatever that my words will reach posterity, I yet avail myself of the kindness of the gentleman who has charge of this resolution, and raise my voice here and now and for the last time against the consummation of this scheme.

This morning I offered an amendment, on which, however, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BINGHAM) declined to allow the House to vote, which embodies my opinions concerning the admission of Tennessee. If gentlemen observed the language of that amendment they are aware that I have in some degree departed from my own settled convictions as to the right of all men to the enjoyment of the elective franchise in deference to what I understand to be the judgment of the majority of this House, and possibly at this time to what is the judgment of the loyal people of the country. The resolution that I proposed provided for impartial suffrage in that State by the act of its own people as a condition-precedent to its admission to the exercise of power in the government. It secured justice to the colored people of Tennessee first, and then to the colored people of the revolted and still rebellious section of this country.

I am not troubled by the informalities apparent in the proceedings of the Tennessee Legislature upon the question of ratifying the constitutional amendment. It received the votes of a majority of the members of a full House, and when the proper officers shall have made the customary certificate and filed it in the Department of State, it is not easy to see how any legal objection can be raised, even if two-thirds of the members were not present, although that proportion is a quorum according to the Constitution of the State.

My objections are not technical, but vital and fundamental. First, the government which they submit here, and which by your preamble and by your vote you declare under the Constitution to be a republican form of government, is not, as it appears to me, such in fact. I have not time now in these thirty minutes to trace the history of the opinions entertained by the founders of the Republic as to what constitutes a republican form of government. But if they identified themselves with any opinion or idea upon this subject, it was this: that whenever powers were conferred by hereditary rules upon a class of men, or whenever by hereditary rules a class of men were excluded from all participation in the government, that government was necessarily anti-republican in form as well as in fact. I do not assert that it is necessary that every man should vote, and that a government in which terms and conditions are imposed is necessarily anti-republican; but the terms and conditions must be reasonable; they must be such as to render it not only possible but probable that the great majority will be able to meet the requirements of the law.

What is this House to-day, in the name of the people of this country and under the Constitution, declaring? That a State Constitution by which more than eighty thousand male citizens are forever, for themselves and for their posterity, deprived of all part in the government of that State is republican in form. Sir, that government is an aristocracy; it is an oligarchy; it is not republican; it is not democratic. Wherever a man and his posterity are forever disfranchised from all participation in the government, that government is not republican in form.

Next, are we to question the existence of the power on our part to accomplish that which I now suggest ought to be accomplished—the enfranchisement of the freedmen of Tennessee, as the beginning of the great work of reconstruction upon a republican basis? We have positive power with reference to the States that have been in rebellion, which we have exercised by the passage of the act establishing and continuing the Freedmen's Bureau and by the passage of the Civil Rights bill.

I do not discuss the question whether we have the power directly to enfranchise the negroes of Tennessee and of the other States recently in rebellion. I have an opinion upon the question, but I offer no argument in its support at the present time. I believe that that power exists in Congress; but now I appeal to the negative power of the government that we may reject Tennessee, North Carolina, Arkansas, until they perform this act of justice, for the country, for the negroes, for themselves. In thus requiring an additional act of justice on their part as a condition-precedent to their return to the enjoyment of their former power in the country, we have the authority of President Lincoln, of President Johnson, and of numerous acts of this Congress and of the last Congress. We have exacted conditions-precedent to the admission of those States to representative power in the government of the country. Through Presidents Lincoln and Johnson the country insisted upon the ratification of the amendment abolishing slavery, the repudiation of the rebel debt, and now we demand, even in the case of Tennessee, the ratification of the pending amendment to the Constitution equalizing representation, and all as conditions-precedent to the exercise of power in the government. With equal, if not with more justice, we may demand an impartial system of suffrage.

Nor can it be maintained with propriety that this exaction shall not be made because there are States, exercising their full functions as such, in which the negroes are excluded from the ballot-box? The injustice in those States is not of such magnitude as to endanger the peace and safety of the country; while in the case of the rebellious States there seems only the alternative of equal suffrage through the demands of the government on the one hand and civil or social war on the other. Hence, while we may condemn the exclusion of negroes from the ballot-box in States now represented in Congress, there may be no public necessity for an attempt to remedy the wrong by the action of the General government. Moreover, in the case of the loyal States the General government cannot apply a remedy except by affirmative, positive action, for which the country is not prepared, and for which there is no controlling public necessity. In the case of the States lately in rebellion we are not under the necessity of taking affirmative legislative action. The proceeding on our part is simply and wholly within the domain of the precedents cited and the authority of the Constitution. The abolition of slavery by the Constitution has given a new meaning to the phrase "republican government;" for it is now settled that a State in which slavery exists is not republican in form according to our Constitution, though previous to the ratification of the amendment the fact may have been otherwise. While slavery existed it was generally true, however, that all free citizens were voters. To this rule there were some exceptions, but they were few and relatively unimportant.

I proceed now to consider the expediency of this measure. There are in Tennessee not less than two hundred thousand able-bodied adult male citizens, and you are consenting that the political power of that State shall be put into the hands of less than sixty thousand. By the Constitution of Tennessee more than half the white male citizens of that State are disfranchised. Of this I do not complain; but in addition thereto eighty thousand male colored citizens of the State are also disfranchised, making an aggregate of one hundred and forty thousand men who are excluded from participation in the government. The sixty thousand loyal white men come here and ask to be accepted as a State, and you are solemnly resolving, in the presence of the country and with the light of history and the traditions of the republic, that the government is republican in form.

What do you invite and invoke in the future? Do you suppose that these sixty thousand rebels are to rest quiet under their exclusion from political power in the government of that State for any considerable number of years? Such an expectation, if entertained, will not be realized. On the other hand, this action invites and renders necessary a combination between the eighty thousand colored men and the sixty thousand rebels. The rebels, forgetting their past prejudices, and the loyal blacks, forgetting the disloyalty of the sixty thousand rebels, will join hands and overturn the government of the State. And what you are doing to-day for Tennessee you are to be invited hereafter to do for the other ten States of the South. There is only an alternative. It is in this: that one four million colored people shall escape from the tyranny which you authorize the Southern oligarchs to exercise over them. And I bid the people, the working people of the North, the men who are struggling for subsistence, to beware of the day when the Southern freedmen shall swarm over the borders in quest of those rights which should be secured to them in their native States. A just policy on our part leaves the black man in the South where he will soon become prosperous and happy. An unjust policy forces him from home and into those States where his rights will be protected, to the injury of the black man and the white man both of the North and the South. Justice and expediency are united in indissoluble bonds, and the men of the North cannot be unjust to the former slaves without themselves suffering the bitter penalty of transgression.

I ask of this House what the answer is to be when the other ten States demand recognition and the admission of members. Do you say they shall not be admitted on the terms you now offer to Tennessee? What other terms will you exact of Arkansas, North Carolina, and South Carolina? You can exact none in addition to what you are now exacting, unless you demand for them what I now demand for the people of Tennessee—impartial suffrage for all loyal adult male citizens. And if you then hesitate to meet the question from which you now shrink—the right of the negro to vote—you will have no excuse for denying full political rights to the other ten States. Arkansas has complied with the conditions named in the preamble to the resolution, and you have no excuse for refusing to admit Arkansas except the excuse I now offer for refusing to admit Tennessee. You will have again upon you that question which you so much dread, but which cannot be postponed and which must be met, whether the colored men of the South, once in slavery but now free, are to be endowed with the rights of citizens of this country. But it, you say, as you will say, unless the people rise in their majesty and demand justice for their fellowmen, that these States may be admitted, as Tennessee is to-day to be admitted, then to what extremity of woe have you reduced the country! You have four million discontented loyal persons made discontented by your action. You have in the States of the South more than five million discontented rebellious white people. You compel these classes, naturally enemies, to unite under the force of circumstances which now you may control for the good of the country; and if, as we believe, the white race is the dominant race, at least for the time being, in intellect and intelligence, you thus give to the rebel class of the South the moral, physical, and political power which can be derived from the influence they will exercise over the four million blacks. Does any one believe that the blacks are to be exterminated? The old fable of Antæus is founded in the nature of man. They who labor on the soil never yet have been and probably they never can be exterminated. And consider further that the blacks are organized into churches; they are establishing everywhere schools; they are becoming the possessors of land; they have military knowledge. Do you expect that such a people, though yet in their infancy, are to be exterminated? They will continue to exist; they will thrive even under oppression; but the day may come, and I fear it may come soon if this policy be pursued, when they will assert by force and by dangerous combinations the natural rights with which they have been by God endowed.

And what do you offer to the loyal whites of the South? You offer them only submission, degradation, or expatriation. Do you suppose that when you have established in the other Southern States governments like that of Tennessee, in which the disloyal whites are excluded and the loyal blacks are also excluded, the loyal whites can withstand for a moment the surging waves of public sentiment which will rise, and foam, and rage, however unjust and foul their origin? If, on the other hand, the negroes are permitted to vote, even in small numbers only in the beginning, they naturally become the allies and friends of the loyal whites of the South; and especially will they be our friends in any future controversy involving the integrity of the Union. No country can afford to disregard the rights or the power of an eighth of its population; and above all, it is dangerous for this government to authorize or tolerate an unjust policy toward so large a proportion of its citizens.

There are in this country two great political public wrongs, one of which you have taken the proper means to remedy by an amendment to the Constitution, securing to a white man in the North equal political power with a white man in the South. We are agreed upon that. When a white man's rights are concerned, there is no difference of opinion upon this side of the House as to the necessity of protecting him. But there is another great wrong, for which you make no provision, offer no remedy, present no excuse, and that is the denial of the elective franchise to the black men of the South. I must say for the gentlemen upon the other side of the House that they are consistent in this matter. They have never asserted the citizenship of the black man; they have denied it; they have never invited him into the army nor called upon him to fight the battles of the republic. They have, as far as they had the power, refused his services; and however wrong they may have been, they have been consistent in their course. But upon this side of the House it is otherwise. We have recently passed an amendment to the Constitution, to be submitted to the States, declaring that negroes are, under the Constitution, hereafter to be citizens, and now, when we have the power to secure for them the rights of citizens, we are silent. We have invited them into the armies of the republic and now we abandon them to those who have been for years their enemies and oppressors. How are we to reconcile to ourselves, to our country, and to posterity this great inconsistency on our part?

I am as much attached to party as any man can be, but the jewel of the Republican party is its consistency based upon justice, and now we abandon justice and accept inconsistency as our policy. Is not the history of this country full of warning? I will not mention names, but from 1850 to the close of the rebellion the pathway of ambition for parties and for men has been strewn right and left with the fragments of parties and the remains of politicians that have proved false to justice, to humanity, and to republican principles. Do you inquire whether these States are to be forever excluded? By no means. We have assurances from North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas that if this Congress will but demand impartial suffrage the people of those States who are loyal to the Union will enter the contest, second the demand for impartial suffrage, contend for it, and ultimately, as they believe, they will secure it. I speak under the impression, the firm conviction, that we to-day here surrender up the cause of justice, the cause of the country, in the vain hope that the admission of Tennessee may work somewhat for the advantage of the party which has controlled the country during these last six years. We surrender the rights of four million people; we surrender the cause of justice; we imperil the peace and endanger the prosperity of the country; we degrade ourselves as a great party which has controlled the government in the most trying times in the history of the world. Fortunate will it be for us, for those whom we represent, and for the future of the country if these apprehensions shall not be realized; and, humble though I be, but in the full conviction that they are not groundless, I enter my earnest protest against this proceeding. Believing it to be wrong, I declare my convictions in the presence of those who have power to prevent the wrong; and I make the declaration with a sense of responsibility such as has never before rested upon me in any experience of my life.

THE SOUTHERN UNIONISTS.

CIRCULAR ACCOMPANYING THE CALL FOR A CONVENTION OF LOYALISTS FROM THE SOUTHERN STATES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., 10th of July, 1866.

SIR: The undersigned have been appointed by the signers of the accompanying call a committee to address you in their behalf and urge you to prompt and energetic efforts in the appointment of delegates from your State and section to meet delegates from the other Southern States in Philadelphia, on the first Monday in September next. By the strong ties of common sufferings in the past, and the dangers present and future which surround us, we appeal to you once more to come to the rescue in a moment of imminent danger to yourselves and our country.

We had all hoped that when treason was beaten in the field and her armed traitors captive to the government which they had wickedly sought to destroy, we of the South who, through four long years of untold sufferings and horrors, adhered to her fortunes and her banner amidst all the changes and vicissitudes of war, would at least receive protection to all constitutional rights of American citizens. We relied confidently on the sense of justice and gratitude of all the loyal citizens of the United States through their Senators and Representatives in Congress to guard in the most effectual manner our future peace and security against the malevolence, vindictiveness, hate and disloyalty of the late rebels. This confidence we believe has not been misplaced. We relied, too, as we had a right to rely, on the earnest and efficient co-operation of the Executive of the nation, placed in power by the great Union party of the country, because of his supposed devotion to the government and his abhorrence of treason, and desire to see "*intelligent, conscious traitors*" punished and made disreputable.

We confidently expected his hearty co-operation with the political department of the government in providing such governments in the States lately in rebellion as would protect the country from conspirators, in official positions, against its peace, and secure the loyal citizens in life, liberty and property, together with the inestimable privilege of impressing upon the minds of others his conscientious convictions of truth by speech or through the medium of the press. We also had reason to hope that the freedman as well as the loyal white men in the South would find ample protection for all his rights as an *American citizen*, by actual military force if necessary, until equal laws and corrected public sentiment would place them on a firm and enduring basis. In these hopes, predicated on the oft-repeated declarations of the President, we have been grieviously disappointed—cruelly deceived.

We have neither seen treason made odious nor traitors disreputable by any act of the Executive of the nation. We *have* seen traitors—*leading, intelligent, conscious traitors*—bearing away from the national capital with exultation, in the same pocket, indemnity for the past and indorsement and security for the future in the form of special pardons and appointments to Federal office, while *leading, intelligent Unionists* were made conscious that fidelity to the *government* was not the passport to Executive favor, but, on the contrary, servile subserviency to the President and his "policy" as against the deliberate and matured judgment of the loyal people of the United States and the constitutional power of the Senators and Representatives in Congress, were the only conditions required of applicants for favor whose claims thus sustained were in no instance impaired by treasonable antecedents.

We have seen our States that remained in rebellion to the close of the war, without an exception, reunited to the control of a rebel magistracy, elected by rebels to the exclusion of the friends of the Union. With one voice we can testify to the encouragement given to traitors and treasonable sentiments in the South in the past twelve months, and the deep gloom and despondency which has settled upon the minds and hearts of the loyal people in those States.

When the effect of the President's policy was first felt to be pernicious and ruinous we were justified—certainly excusable—in believing that it was but an error in judgment which would be corrected by him with promptitude as soon as discovered. We had well hoped that he would hold to a just accountability those who we believed had so grossly abused his clemency and apparent magnanimity. They have doubtless understood him far better than we. The entire course of the rebels seem to meet his unqualified assent and approbation. The election of an unpardoned rebel to the Chief Magistracy of a rebel State, who in his first message to the Legislature denounced the war on the part of the United States against the rebellion as the most unholy and disgraceful in character ever practiced by a Christian nation, had the effect of procuring his speedy pardon.

The entire control by *late rebels* and *present* conspirators against the peace of the country, of eleven States; men who cherish the most deadly hatred of all lovers of the government and are threatening them with violence, as in the beginning of the rebellion, who denounce the loyal people of the loyal States and heap invectives on the loyal Senators and Representatives in Congress, who they pray may be forcibly ejected by the bayonet from the halls of the national Capitol, and the government administered by the will of the President; these, and such as these, together with their Northern sympathizers, are esteemed fit associates and counsellors of the Chief Magistrate of the nation, and constitute the material out of which a new party—the Johnson party—is to be formed to guide the country through its present perils and mould its future destinies.

The leaders of this movement is well understood by the loyal country. The President and his friends, well knowing that he has forever forfeited the confidence of the great Union party which elected him, have madly determined to organize a new party of this "speckled progeny of many conjunctions." The effect has been to consolidate and crystalize the Union party. It stands to-day more compact, powerful and confident than at any period of its existence. Its triumph in the approaching Fall elections is not only certain but will be overwhelming. What is the duty of the unconditional Union men of the South and what is to be their position? Our duty is plainly to act with the friends of the government who are our friends and our *only friends*. We must take position with the loyal people and Congress of the nation against the machinations of the new coalition of rebels and their Northern sympathizers.

We can have no affiliation with those who deride and hate us because of our love of the Union now and in the past, and who, there is abundant reason to believe, are at this moment again conspiring to overthrow the government. If those who are to constitute this new party should attain power and possess themselves of the control of the government, what consideration may we expect at their hands, what mercy can we hope? They have proved faithless to every pledge and obligation however sacred, both before and since the rebellion. The most solemn oaths are used by them as a mere cloak for treachery, and magnanimity and mercy on the part of an outraged government and its friends are impudently and insultingly derided the moment they are relieved from dread of punishment. No history furnishes an example of such incorrigible guilt, and shameless audacity.

To the Union party, and to that alone, we look for relief from our present unhappy condition and for permanent security in the future. The party is powerful enough for success without our aid, but it is none the less our duty to signalize our devotion to the principles of republican liberty which that party is so nobly sustaining by active affirmative co-operation on our part. Moreover, if we wish the support, the countenance and protecting care of the Union party to shield us from the dangers which now threaten us, we must not be afraid to make known to them our condition and dire necessities. It is scarcely too much to say that the Southern Unionists, though too weak for self-protection, hold in their hands the key to the solution of the question of the reorganization of civil State governments in the South. We know it has been said that we have been ignored by all parties in and out of Congress—that we are being ground to death between the upper and nether mill-stones. Let it be remembered that as a party in the South we have made no effort to make known our wants, our conditions, our hopes and our sufferings.

We do assure you that it is the wish, the ardent desire and intention of Congress to give us protection and security when fully advised of our needs.

Let us then perform our duty to ourselves and our country by meeting together for consultation upon our present condition and future interests, and present to the country the united voice of the down-trodden Unionists of the South, presenting a fearless and truthful statement of facts which shall command the attention and challenge the confidence and sympathy of every friend of the government and of human liberty throughout the land.

It may be that fear of the same despotism over the minds and consciences of men that existed in the beginning of the rebellion and reigned supreme in the South during its continuance, will again assert its power and condemn to eternal punishment those who may dare respond to our call. We have but to say that whatever danger threatens, and whatever sacrifices are involved, we must *aid* in breaking the shackles that bind us.

If the enemies of free government do not yet understand that the rights of American citizenship are to be paramount and supreme over the hellish spirit born of slavery and nurtured by bigotry, ignorance, and prejudice, they will learn it in the throes and struggles of the next civil commotion which they and their abettors inaugurate.

One other step, and they will have placed themselves forever without the pale of forgiveness. The fiat has gone forth. The people of the United States have resolved that this *shall be a government of freedom and equal rights for all;* and woe to those who shall hereafter resist this solemn judgment. He who is guilty of a second rebellion to this government will appeal in vain for pardon. Let us act boldly, as becomes free men; and if we should thereby incur danger, the country will understand and appreciate the shameless hypocrisy of those who prate of their loyalty and right to readmission into the Union in one breath, and in the next excite a brutalized mob to violence upon a citizen for exercising the constitutional right of meeting his fellow-citizens to petition the political power of the nation for a redress of grievances. Let us do our duty, and trust to God and our loyal countrymen for vindication and protection.

We urge you to lose no time in making your nominations by public meetings or otherwise, as may be most convenient for you. You can scarcely conceive the importance which gentlemen from every part of the country attach to this proposed meeting of Southern Unionists. We venture to say we have, in a great measure, our destiny in our own hands. It is earnestly hoped that we will wisely use the power we possess.

Your obedient servants,

A. J. HAMILTON of Texas,
M. J. SAFFORD of Alabama,
WM. B. STOKES of Tennessee,
} Committee.

THE FREEDMEN.

A CASE OF FRIGHTFUL CRUELTY—INVESTIGATION IN RICHMOND OF CHARGES AGAINST MRS. ABRAHAMS—HOW A WOMAN TORTURED AND MAIMED ANOTHER WOMAN, HER SERVANT—HOW THE SERVANT LOST HER EYES AND TEETH—MOTHER AND CHILDREN BEATEN, SCARRED, MAIMED AND BURNED—A MOTHER'S EFFORT TO RESCUE HER CHILDREN—SHE BRINGS THEM OFF WOUNDED.

Special Dispatch to the N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, July 24, 1866.

BELOW is part of a voluminous report which has been received by Gen. Howard from Gen. Terry, concerning the cruelties practiced by Mrs. Henry Abrahams of King Williams County, Virginia, upon her servants. The matter came to light through investigation set on foot about a month ago. The reports show that on the 21 of June a freed girl named Martha Ann, aged seventeen, was brought to a hospital in Richmond. The surgeon states that there were upon her body seven ulcers, all the result of burns, and all produced within two or three weeks; the largest was nearly two inches in diameter. In addition to these, her entire body was almost covered with scars, some old and some covered with recent scales, some the result of burns, and some the result of whipping. She had been so abused that she was scarcely able to give expression to an intelligent idea. The investigation made before the Judge Advocate at Richmond, proved that the monster, Mrs. Abrahams, whom half the lawyers of the city volunteered to defend, has within the last few years been the cause of the death of four of her negro servants.

RICHMOND, Va., Wednesday, June 20, 1866.

The further investigation of the charges against Mrs. Ann C. Abrahams was resumed in the presence of the accused and her counsel on the previous day.

Lucy Richardson, sworn, testifies:

By the Judge Advocate—Q. Have you ever lived with Mrs. Abrahams? A. Yes.

Q. In what county does she live? A. In King Williams county.

Q. What is her name? A. Ann Catharine Abrahams.

Q. How long have you lived there? A. About eleven years, as near as I can come.

Q. When did you leave there? A. Last June a year ago.

Q. How were you living there; as servant or as slave, or in what way? A. I was a slave up to the time I came away from there.

Q. How were you treated at Mrs. Abrahams'? A. I was treated very cruelly—as cruelly as any body could be.

BEATING AND BRANDING.

Q. In what way? A. I was whipped every way that a servant could be whipped, and was stark naked when I was whipped, and I sometimes was tied up with my hands over my head and swung up to the kitchen joist, and sometimes I was stripped and had to go down on my hands and knees, and was whipped with hickory in that way; sometimes she would have a pressing-board that they pressed gentlemen's clothes with, and she would have me naked, with my hands and feet on the floor, and

then she would cobb me with the pressing-board, sometimes she would take me naked in that way and take a stick or the tongs or a poking iron, and would beat me with that; and sometimes she would take me and strip me and tie me across a table, and whip me with hickories; and once she took me and tied me across the table, and took the stick I used to make the beds with, and beat me with that until I was perfectly the same as a loaf of bread, swelled up; she took and tied my feet together, and swung me with my heels upward and head downward across the door, and hit me in that way as long as she could with birch hickories, and she took a hot poking-iron and branded this place on my neck (witness here exhibited a scar on her neck), and she knocked me on my mouth and knocked all my front teeth out with the tongs, and she cut me in the eye with a switch, and put that out wilfully; she was doing that all the time I was there; the first year she treated me tolerably well; but after that, through all the time I was there, she went through this sort of persecution; she treated me pretty well a little while just after the Yankees went through here; but in a little while it was just the same as before.

Q. Do you say she struck you with a poker? A. Yes; as often as I have got fingers and toes, and more, too.

Q. How long before you left there had she beaten you? A. Well, she did not beat me at all after the fall of Richmond until I came away; but she used to tie me up and confine me every way to mortify me every way.

Q. How long was it before the fall of Richmond that she beat you last? A. I can't tell exactly how long; but I know not long before—about a month.

WHIPPING WITH HICKORIES—BEATING WITH A POKER.

Q. In what way did she beat you then? A. She whipped me with hickories.

Q. Anything else? A. No.

Q. How did she whip you the time before that? A. She beat me then with a poking-iron and tongs.

Q. Has she often beaten you with the poking-iron and tongs? A. Oftener with them than anything else, because she said she did not believe the hickories would punish us enough, and she would try to break our bones.

Q. Can you come anywhere near to how often she whipped you in that way within the last two years? A. No, not to save my life, because there wasn't a day hardly that if she would not whip us in the morning, she would at night, and we would get it two or three times a week always.

BEATING WITH AN AXE-HANDLE.

Q. Where did she strike you with the poking-iron and tongs? A. She used to beat us over the head and cut the skin off me until the blood would run clear down to the ground, and all across the shoulders and all across my back, and many times I could not raise my arms to my head.

Q. You said she beat you with a piece of board, switch, the poker and tongs; anything else? A. She has beat me with the eye of the axe, and the eye of the hoe, and she would come into the field and take my hoe out of my hand and beat me over the head.

Q. What part of the axe—the handle? A. Yes, she would take the eye of the hoe and beat me until the breath was nearly out of my body, and then would take the hoe-handle and beat me over the head.

Q. How long ago is it since your eye was put out? A. As near as I can come at it, was three years before I came away from there, at the time the war was going on.

SANS EYES AND TEETH.

Q. Did you lose your eye or teeth first? A. I lost my teeth first.

Q. How long is it since your teeth were knocked out? A. My teeth were knocked out at the time the war was going on.

Q. Have you ever been burned more than once? A. No. I have never been burned but once.

Q. Do you know of any ill treatment toward other servants living there? A. Yes, I do.

TYING, WHIPPING, BUCKING AND BURNING CHILDREN.

Q. Who were living there while you were living there? A. My children—my little girls; they were twins, Mary Ellen and Martha Ann, and she had them in the house ever since they were big enough to tote a plate, and she had been treating them cruelly ever since she had them in the house, whipping them as long as—

Q. Speak of one at a time; tell us of Martha Ann first. A. She would strip her and whip her almost as long as she could stand—whip her with hickories—then after she had done, she would say whipping wasn't a punishment for that, and she would cross her hands and tie them up and put them close together so (witness here indicated by gestures the process of bucking) and tie them down there, and put them close to the andirons until they were toasted like meat for the table; then she would have hickories and whip her until she would whip all the skin off perfectly raw.

Q. Do you mean the toasted skin? A. Yes, and if she hollored any time while she was doing all that, she would up with her foot, shoe and all, and stamp them down in the mouth, and say they should not holler? then she would have red pepper and salt, and put it in the water, and make it as strong as it could be made, and camphor, and wash them down; she would take the hickories and wash it in; then she would beat them with the tongs and poking-iron, and beat them.

Q. Do you mean she would do this at the same beating, or at another time? A. She would do that all at one beating.

Q. Have you known her frequently to beat them with the tongs and poking-iron? A. Yes; they was as good as a switch or anything else.

Q. Have you ever known her to burn Martha Ann? A. Yes; I have not forgotten it.

THE BURNING PROCESS.

Q. In what way? A. Take the poking-iron and put it in the fire, and heat it right red hot, and have them stripped and tied in the same way (bucked), with her knees so, and a stick under her knees, and have them lay so that they could not help themselves, and take it and put it all up and down their backs, and take a chunk of fire with a live coal on, and burn their backs with that as long as she could see a bit of fire on the chunk, and then she would take the chunk off their backs, and the skin would come off with the chunk; and sometimes she would take a shovel of live coals and put them on the hearth, and make the children lay on it until the coals would not burn any more.

Q. How long ago was Martha Ann treated in this way that you speak of? A. She has done it since the fall of Richmond, while I was there, and I saw that one with my own eyes; I was in her room, sitting down with my cards in my hands, and saw her do it.

Q. How frequently have you known any such punishment as this to be inflicted? A. A dozen times, and more than a dozen times; but I will say a dozen, because I could not count them.

Q. How many times has it been within the last two years? A. Well, she has done it a dozen times within the last two years, and more, too—because she has done it more regularly toward the last than before.

Q. Where is Martha now? A. She is down stairs.

Q. How long has she been with you? A. Three weeks last Thursday evening.

Q. Where has she been up to that time? A. At Mrs. Abrahams'.

AN EFFORT TO RESCUE THE CHILDREN.

Q. How did you get her away from there? A. I went there for her myself, and I was so foundered on Sunday with walking from Richmond, that I could not go until the Tuesday after, and I was afraid to go there by myself; Mr. and Mrs. Abrahams had threatened if I would come on the land, they would blow my brains out, and I should never come off alive. Well, I went by Mr. Jno. William Taylor's; he is a magistrate of the county, and I asked him would he go with me there for my child, and told him the threats they had made, and he says, "No, I can't go with you. I am very busy, and I have lost so much time on these cases lately that I can't go with you now;" and I says, "Then, Mr. Taylor, will you give me a note to carry to Mr. Abrahams, to let him know that it comes from a magistrate, and that I may have no difficulty in getting my child?" and he says, "No, you are free and your child is free," and he asked if I had hired my child to them, and I told him no, I had run away and left it there; and he says, "Don't you go to the house; but get some person to go there with you, and you stand at the gate out in the main road—the road belongs as much to you as anybody else—and then send them to the house, and ask Mr. Abrahams very politely for your child, and if he don't send the child to the gate to you, then you come back to me, and if they don't give you the child, I will have her by force of law." I went to the nearest neighbor, a colored woman, by the name of Susan Hickman, and asked her would she go with me, and she said no, she could not; she had lived with Mrs. Abrahams a month or better, and had had a fallen out with her, and they did not speak; then picked up a good resolution myself, and says, well, live or die, I will go. I will die trying to get my child; and I went to the gate out on the main road, waived my handkerchief, and they saw me at the gate and sent a boy up there to see what it was and what they wanted; the boy came to the gate, and I says Ain't there a girl at the house by the name of Martha? and at first he did not answer, and the second time I asked him, he said Yes. Well, I said, this is Martha's mother; twice I said so, and said, go to the house and ask Mr. Abrahams and Mrs. Abrahams to please to send Martha to the gate to me; I have come from Richmond for her, and can't go back without her; the boy says, if you don't clear yourself from here from this here lot, she will take a gun and blow your brains out; that you shan't have Martha. Well, I says, boy, you go back and tell her I came by the magistrate's before I come here, and the magistrate he says if she don't give this child up to me, to come back to him, and he will have her forced away by law; tell her I will wait here until twelve o'clock to see if she will send Martha to me, and if she don't, I will go straight back to the magistrate. The boy he went running back to the house, and she (Mrs. Abrahams) met him part of the way; she did not wait for him only to get part of the way from the gate to the house, and then she came herself after the boy, and he told the message I sent back, and she and the boy both came back together, and as she came to me I went off from the gate up the road toward the magistrate's, as I thought she had a pistol in her pocket, and was after shooting me; then she sent the boy to run after me to come back and not to go; but to know if I would come back to the house, and I might have Martha. I told him to tell her no; I was not coming to the house; all they wanted me to come to the house for was to shoot me or cripple me some way. Then she came out into the main road herself, and said if I would not come back, to come near enough so that I could talk with her and hear what each other said. I stood, and she called me and said she had not anything she could hurt me with no more than her hands, and held out her hands and dress and shawl, and showed me she had nothing, and then I was not afraid of her; then she said to me that I ran away and left my children there upon her hands; if she was to force the law upon me, she would make me pay for every day she had my children there keeping them. I said to her, "Every child I have is big enough to do something, if only to pick up chips, and they had to work, every one, when I came from there."

Q. Did she let you have the child? A. No; she went to the house and blowed the horn for Mr. Abrahams to come to the house, and directly she had blowed the horn, she came back to where I was, and then she quickly turned round and went back to the house again, and then she and Mr. Abrahams was up there together, and he said to me that he had offered to pay a colored man in the neighborhood to bring this child to me, and the man said he could not bring this child; he had so much load he could not. My brother went there to the house and asked him three times to let the child come to me.

Q. Before you went there? A. Yes.

Q. Did you request him to go there? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did they bring this child out to you? A. Yes, this third time they did.

A RESCUED CHILD—ITS CONDITION.

Did they make any objections to giving her up? A. Mr. Abrahams, when he came up, said: "Let this child stay here and I will bring it to you and put it down at your door in Richmond," and I says no, sir; I have come from Richmond for this child, and I intend to carry it away with me, if I carry it away dead. Well, says he to me, then if you carry this child; he asked me when I was going back to Richmond, and I told him Thursday or Friday; I did not know which day. Mr. Abrahams then brought this child to me, and when it came to me it had a handkerchief tied on its head, just put on clean, and a white bonnet, and before it got out of the house to me, the blood had oozed through the handkerchief and bonnet. Well, when my child came I saw that, and where its face was all mashed. She had wounds on her face and all mashed, and her face swelled up like a bladder; and when I first saw her I could not speak. I was just like a person shot with a gun to meet her in that situation, although it is not much more than what I expected, and I would not examine the child.

Q. What did you do with the child? A. I only took the child and carried it to a place called Dorrell, to Mayor Tom Dabney's widow, where my brother lived, and it was as much as I could do to get the child from Mr. Abrahams' to my brother's; it was so much wounded it could not walk.

Q. Did you examine the child there? A. Yes.

Q. What was her appearance? A. After I got her there I stripped her and saw what was the matter; and when I stripped her, all her inside garments was all sticking within her flesh in her wounds, and I could not get them off till I greased her back with soft grease until they softened so I could get it off. It was as much as I could do to go to my child; it stunk so, like any carion—but it was my child and I had to go to attend to it, and after I had got her linen off, I washed her and greased her well that evening.

Q. What marks were there upon her? A. Switch marks and brands with a poking-iron.

FRESH SCARS AND BURNS.

Q. How long did it appear these burns had been made—how old? A. From their appearance they had not been burned more than a week. To save my life they were just as fresh as they could be. I had seen them burned often enough to judge how long they had been burned.

Q. How many burned places were there upon her body? A. Both her blade bones were all burned clean across both sides and on the small of her back, and right down there in her flanks was just as raw as a piece of beef.

Q. From the burns? A. Yes, from the burns.

Q. Who was at your brother's when you examined the child? His wife; and he had one grown daughter and three children, and a smaller child.

Q. Was your brother there? A. Yes, my brother saw the child.

Q. What did you do with her then? A. Next morning I carried her to the next neighbor's, Mr. James Fox's, a white man,

Q. Did you show him the child? A. Yes.

Q. How long after that did you bring her to Richmond? A. That was on Wednesday I showed the child, and I started off on Thursday night and got here on Friday evening, about two hours of the sun.

WITNESSES.

Q. Did any other persons see her besides Mr. Fox after you left your brother's, before you came to Richmond? A. Mr. John Alexander's daughter heard of it, and she came to my brother's house to see the child, and I stripped it and showed it to her. She is a white girl. Mr. James Fox told me I had better go to the magistrate and show him the child. That was before I brought the child away; but I was not able to go. It could not walk, and I was not able to carry it round and show it. Mr. Fox said to me, "You take the child to Richmond, and carry it right straight before the Court." I did not carry it round; but there was a good many colored persons heard of it, and came over to see it, and I started on Thursday night, and got here about two hours of the sun.

THE CHILD AT THE HOSPITAL.

Q. Where has that child been since then? A. At the hospital ever since.

Q. Has she been attended to by any of the physicians? A. Yes.

Q. By what doctor? A. Dr. Drayfield and Dr. Brower.

Q. When did they first see her? A. I brought her here to the Freedmen's Bureau on Saturday, and Lieut. Merrill took and carried her to the hospital.

Q. And they have been attending to her there ever since? A. Yes.

Q. Where is she now? A. She is down stairs.

Q. Are her wounds cured at all? A. Yes, they have healed up a good deal. There is only one that looks fresh now.

Q. How old is Martha now? A. Sixteen years, and going on seventeen.

Q. You said she and Mary Ellen are twins? A. Yes.

A RECIPE FOR CRUELTY.

Q. Have you ever seen Mary Ellen treated badly in any way? A. Yes; she was whipped and branded in the way that Martha was, and tied hands, and knees, and feet to the fire and toasted; and all the skin whipped off her, and then washed down with salt water and pepper, with camphor put in it, and then whipped in; and then beaten with the poking-iron and tongs; and she was burned in her head, and has a place as large as my hand, and there is no hair there, and never will be.

JOHNSON OR DAVIS.

Kentucky is Reconstructed.—She is represented fully—or was before Rousseau was expelled from the House—in the Congress of the United States. Her citizens are all ready to vote for President when time comes round, throwing out, of course, the votes of the freedmen. A few days since, Gen. Crittenden and Hon. John M. Harlan had an appointment to speak on the President's policy, the one pro and the other con, at Elizabethtown, in that State. When Mr. Harlan was speaking, the meeting, which was a large one, often interrupted him by shouts in favor of his opponent. The Louisville *Journal* says of the affair:

"In the midst of Mr. Harlan's strongest and most eloquent utterances, loud cries were raised of 'Hurrah for Duvall!' Mr. Harlan paused and asked mildly but impressively, why they were in favor of Duvall? 'Tell me,' he said, 'if it is not because he was in favor of the rebellion?' 'Yes, that's so,' was the prompt answer. 'Then you were for the rebellion?' 'Yes, yes, yes!' 'Are you for the rebellion now?' 'We would go for the rebellion now if we thought we could succeed.' Mr. Harlan thanked and complimented them for their candor, and then added:

"'Suppose Jeff Davis and Andrew Johnson shall be the opposing candidates for the Presidency in 1868—which of the two will you support?' Mr. Harlan said, 'You have been very candid, and I venture to hope that you will still be so. Speak out! which do you go for—Johnson or Davis?' Then the loud answer came—'Davis! Davis! Davis!' Old men, the most substantial citizens of Elizabethtown and Hardin, joined in the shout. Again Mr. Harlan thanked them for their candor, telling them that they were the most candid men of their party that he had talked to in all his canvass."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 11, 1866.

HERO-WORSHIP.

Hasty, reckless, unreasoning hero-worship is one of our national faults—a chief one. Let a man stumble on one good action, and we credit him with all the cardinal virtues at once. Every five years produces its own Admirable Crichton, the possessor of all the merits and virtues of the Seven Worthies. This heedless, blind enthusiasm has cost us hundreds of millions, and brought the nation again and again into fearful peril. To pronounce the single word *McClellan*, ought to disenchant Americans of such folly for a century to come.

An hour which needed a prompt, decisive, energetic mind at the helm, found there an unready laggard, without purpose or principle, "drifting" with the current to avoid responsibility. But Americans must have a hero, and Lincoln looms up in the haze of popular enthusiasm to the needed size and shape.

The old story tells of an English sailor, two hundred years ago, contending in seaman's feats with a Dutch rival. Tumbling from the main top, he lights, by accident, on his feet, and the moment he gets breath, cries out, "There, do that much, you lubber." So the American nation, drifting without pilot or compass, survives at last the fearful peril by happy accident, only to point to its wooden figure-head as the skilful pilot who weathered the storm!

The glare of Grant's military success had been just enough to dazzle men blind to his blunder and weakness in the terms granted to Lee. But, in a moment, he is seen, comet-like, hurrying through the Southern sky, alighting at only four places, and, with the same weakness, consenting to bring back a report, written for him possibly before he started, that the whole South was loyal and fit for immediate restoration to its full functions,—an illusion or pretence to which every order he has found it necessary to issue since has given the lie.

Still zealots stun you deaf with Grant's "discretion," "balance," "statesmanship," "straightforward independence," and "thorough trustworthiness" in any crisis, however trying; and the nation aches for the chance to risk everything once more on an untried man, if only that man be Grant!

Sherman lives half his life at the South, knows her to the core, goes through this war, of which New England has been all the brains and one hand (keen-sighted Southern hate of her proves that), and all that experience leaves Sherman still a scornful hater of New England. He turns our only Southern ally—the black—out of his camp at the point of the bayonet, half surrenders to Johnston, and then comes home to warn the Yale boys that they may have to fight again soon.

If they do, whose fault will it be that the snake was scotched and not killed? Gen. Sherman's, as much as any one man's, except Abraham Lincoln. Yet those who have sense and memory enough not to think Grant a Napoleon and Washington rolled into one, still assure you, with profound gravity, that Sherman is *really* as honest as Lincoln was *thought* to be, has twice the brains of Grant, and as for democracy, is simply Sam. Adams come to life again!

Yes, the masses have already rinsed their mouths sweet from the bitter experience of McClellan, and are all ready to run another race of headlong hero-worship.

Congress has adjourned. That marks the beginning of a new epoch. This Summer and Fall are devoted to choosing new Congressmen. What they shall be in sense, courage and virtue, will decide the policy of next Winter. The popular mood they are supposed to represent will dictate the policy of the Administration even before that Winter opens. The vigilance, purpose and spirit which the people show this Summer and Fall will go far to decide the complexion of affairs in 1868; and that decides the fate of the nation for some years at any rate, perhaps as long as this generation lasts.

Let there be no blind and heedless hero-worship now. Let no gratitude for any single service lead us to endow our favorite with all possible merits. No matter how heavily he be crowned with laurels, scrutinize his record carefully and weigh mercilessly his fitness for the future. We are selecting our three hundred for Thermopylae. Everything hangs on their courage and fidelity. Sweep the board of all Colorado and Nebraska men, hurrying forward to found new *white men's governments* at such a moment as this. Sweep the board of all who were cajoled in the Tennessee question by the President and the South, leaving the doors of Congress wide enough open for all Slavedom to enter. No time now to listen to their plea of good intentions. It is no fault in the bat that he cannot see when the sun is up, but it is surely a limitation of his usefulness. If some dozen of these well-meaning bats are too valuable servants to be dispensed with, or if their courage has been too often proved to deserve cashiering for a single Bull Run, then, even then, grant them no re-election till you put them, with all their laurels, on the stool of repentance publicly, before all the people, and have their pledge that no such hour of weakness shall come again. What element is it in all Southern questions, that, like the mountain magnet in the legend, draws all the bolts out of Northern men's intellect and heart, and makes them act like dotards in such struggles? Whatever it be, we must summon broad popular purpose now to neutralize it, or we are lost.

Our best hope is in free, fearless discussion of every man's fitness. Swallow no man with closed eyes. Never be dazzled by his merits—*scrutinize his defects.* There have been many hours when even Stevens has lost his head: and Wade's courage has been sometimes as misplaced as a bull in a china shop. When a candidate's worshippers tell you of his presence in the crowd that carried Civil Rights bills, Bureau bills over the veto, ask them why he left the negro disfranchised in Colorado and Nebraska, in Tennessee and the District—why he spent seven months tithing mint, anise and cummin, and neglected the weightier matters of the law. The negro said: "Fulfil your pledge and give me a vote." Scrupulous Thaddeus Stevens hands him a plate of soup cooked at the public expense! "Give me my vote," cries the negro. "I can't do that," answers Pennsylvania, "but you shall have the right to sue in a court where the law-makers and the judge, the jury and the counsel,—all white and all rebel,—combine to make your right a sham." Virtuous Pennsylvania!

That pickpocket who robbed the old pensioner of all his possessions, arrested early on Monday morning, assured the Court he could easily have escaped but for his conscientious scruples against travelling on the Sabbath. The Republican who has just cheated the Tennessee negroes out of their ballots assures you that he was scrupulous to see that the blacks had their Bureau soup-ration and right to buy land!

The time was, when to blame Lincoln was thought evidence of secession principle. No man was allowed to distinguish between the *Administration* and the *Nation*. Where has that Republican folly gone now? Thank Heaven, we are rid of it! Carry out the principle and remember that the Republican party is not the nation, that Henry Wilson's continuance in the Senate is not exactly the same thing with granting impartial suffrage—no matter who asserts it to be so. Our safety lies in pitiless fidelity of criticism. The government that lacks the breath and movement of public agitation soon rots. Tocqueville says,—"Those who never studied the actual working of the *Old Regime* in its official records can form no idea of the contempt into which the laws fall, even in the minds of their administrators, *when there are no political meetings or newspapers to check the capricious activity or set bounds to the arbitrary tendencies of government officials.*"

The same holds good of parties. Fearless criticism is the only guarantee of their virtue. Republicans profess to wish to represent public opinion. How shall they learn it? Not by each man's uttering *as much of his convictions as he thinks* his neighbors will bear, but by his speaking out his *own full real opinion* on public affairs. In the first way, leading men, legislators, get only weak and ignorant men's *judgment of what is public opinion.* In the latter, they get materials out of which to *form their own judgment.* Criticise freely, therefore—demand *all* you think the times demand. Screen no mans defects. Leave at home both the McClellans and the Bankses—the Fitz John Porters and the Hookers, and bring the Grants and the Shermans to the front.

One hour of besotted hero-worship in 1864,—one hour which consented to accept words for deeds—to take a man at his own valuation,—gave us Jefferson Davis Johnson for President. This Summer will show how much the nation has learned from that bitter experience.

Wendell Phillips.

GERRIT SMITH'S LETTER.

I have read Mr. Smith's letter to me in the last Standard with deep interest. With most of it I cordially agree. He misunderstands me in supposing that I advised *Abolitionists* to support the Republican party. My audience at Framingham was made up largely of Republicans, and the remarks there were an attempt to advise them what to do *in their party.* What I think the duty of Abolitionists, is stated in an editorial, printed in the same paper that contained the Framingham speech. If you will reprint the sentence I refer to, your readers will fully understand my position and see how closely Mr. Smith and myself agree.

Wendell Phillips.

We add the extract referred to above, from The Standard of July 14:

"How shall this God-given opportunity be saved from the feeble knees and itching palms of such pretenders? *Our* special duty is plain. We, standing outside of politics, are to stir every honest impulse, to waken every honorable feeling, still to agitate and lift up public purpose and opinion. By meetings, journals, appeals, public and private, we have to do the work we have done for thirty years: fearlessly utter the whole truth about men and things, point out the true remedy and consent to—support—nothing short of it; no, not for an hour. We are not simply to cry, 'May discord reign forever;' but we are to prove to every one who will listen that far better is it, in every point of view, that discord should reign forever, than that at a moment like this any right of the humblest citizen should be sacrificed in order that unconverted rebels should sit down with half-hearted friends to govern this Republic. Further still, we are to warn the nation that, whether this be true or not and whether men like it or not, God has so placed us that *discord will reign until* the rights of all men are secured,—and that this is indeed our best hope and the safety of the republic. We are to warn men that the danger to-day is not because the South has encamped in the White House; it is because it has fixed its headquarters in the Senate Chamber. This is *our* duty, to say, as we have always done, what all true men know but will not publicly confess. But for those who still act with the Republican party another course is open. Were I a Republican, I should feel it to be my duty to denounce," etc.

ABROAD.

We give an extract from the letter of Moncure D. Conway to the Boston *Commonwealth*—to show the influence of the pro-slavery government of Washington as far off as London. Mr. Adams, it will be seen, has not ceased to be the tool of Mr. Seward, a function he assumed as long ago as 1861, when he offered to avert Southern rebellion by Northern submission. The Adams' blood is a strange mixture of many and various ingredients—some good, many equivocal, and all sure to be overridden, in critical moments, by a dominating selfishness. It was said of a well-known manufacturing family in New England, "The —— are stupid until you put a dollar in their palm." So the Adams' blood always shows boldness enough whenever it has a personal injury to avenge and a selfish point to carry. Otherwise expect the patriotism of the five loaves and two fishes order. Moncure D. Conway has done more, within the last dozen years, to vindicate the character and do honor to the statesmanship of America than Charles F. Adams has done to disgrace both. We are fully aware how great a compliment we are offering Mr. Conway; but he deserves it all. His services in England to the negro's cause and the nation's honor are surpassed by those of no American in Europe; while his contributions to the American press are the most racy, brilliant, well-chosen, well-timed and instructive of all our foreign correspondence:

London, July 4, 1866.

FOURTH-OF-JULY REFLECTIONS.

As I write to you on this "day we celebrate" the clouds are darkening the heavens, and the rains are drearily falling; and as they are now, so they have been these many days, and so will they, if barometers may be trusted, for some time to come. In London, "American residents" are, I suppose, to dine, to toast the American eagle, and especially the Johnsonian talon thereof, in deep potions of champagne, and in the evening there is to be a grand reception at the American Minister's. Not being an orthodox American, defending every stripe as well as every star on the flag, and apotheosizing presidential slave-drivers, your correspondent is never invited to any of these festivities. Mr. Dallas's and Mr. Adams's Secretary of Legation long ago erased his name from the list of "American residents." So I shall have to sit here and conclude that the grapes from which their wine is made were all sour. At any rate, I am pretty sure it would be all sour to me. An Adams toasting Andrew Johnson is more than my stomach could bear! I sometimes feel these days a sort of sad pleasure in knowing that I am a Southerner by birth. Degraded as the South is by slavery, reckless as Southerners are in their sectional feeling, I have, at least, never known them to act the truckling and mean part which Northern men are acting just now in the New World and in the Old. In the day when Congress passed a plan of reconstruction without reference to the one thing needful and honorable—negro suffrage—the entire North, as well as the negro, was laid under the foot of the Southerner. The course of the North is an ingenious blending of infernalism, meanness, and silliness. Even the radicals in Congress seem, to me, to have surrendered most ignobly. They have been cowed by a ranting, ignorant slave-driver, whom they might have fought and easily scourged out of the White House. And to-day the heavy clouds which overhang these skies, and the chill rain, are not drearier than those which overhang the political sky in America. They are not so menacing as they are chill and dreary.

It is plain to us, at this distance, that the North intends to submit tamely to the inevitable victory of the South over her. A king once showed a sage his heaps of gold. "But," said the sage, "if another king come who has better iron than you, he will be owner of all this gold." It is vain that we talk of our Anti-Slavery progress, our Civil Rights, Southern homestead, and other bills; when the South enters Congress and reinforces the copperheads, they will be masters of all these things. A relative of mine in Virginia has just sent me a copy of the Richmond *Examiner*, which says to the South, Never fear these measures so long as they include our admission to Congress; we will unravel all they have done! If any Northern man is such a fool as to think this is mere talk, let him ask himself what Wendell Phillips and Pillsbury would do in Congress if they found themselves masters of a majority there? They are not more radical than the Southerners. The feeling about the inadequacy of the North, in this emergency, amongst its best and most eminent friends in this country, is one of settled gloom. I almost never hear the North mentioned except in tory taunts, as having traded, during the war, on Abolitionism, and now trading the negro off in the next bargain. There is an entire lack of the enthusiasm which in all Europe had responded to the enthusiasm of America for liberty during the war. Our news from America now-a-days is always this: "Fenian raid in Canada; large fire in New York; murderer executed; Scott, Cass, or somebody else, dead; gold 150."

JOHNSON AND HAMLIN.

The great crime and blunder of putting Johnson in Hamlin's place, has sometimes been supposed to be chargeable to Massachusetts men. If the following extract from the Washington telegraphic dispatch to the New York *Tribune* (July 28) be trustworthy, we may add this to the other blunders of Abraham Lincoln.

Noticing the appointment of Gen. Steedman as Superintendent of Public Printing, in place of Mr. Defrees, the dispatch goes on to say:

"Early in 1864 Mr. Defrees, who was a warm friend of Mr. Lincoln, was sent to Indianapolis with an autograph letter from Mr. Lincoln, appealing to his friends in the State Convention to inaugurate the movement to make Gov. Johnson Vice-President. Mr. Defrees succeeded admirably. The Convention led off in placing him in nomination, and backed it up at Baltimore.

REBEL CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA.

This Convention and its auxiliary Conventions are, at present, the most instructive study. This is the last move of the enemy and reveals more clearly than anything else his plans, mood, and future position. It is the best milestone of national movement. If any man had prophesied, in April, 1865, that President Johnson and Secretary Seward would be, in 1866, arranging a Convention with the Woods, Vallandigham, Bright, and Pendleton, and thereupon his journal had been prohibited by the Provost-Marshal as seditious and libellous, the whole country would have said Amen to the order. Now our Republican leaders coolly *speculate* on what this extremely natural coalition will effect! The nation has travelled so far on the downward path, that this phenomenon does not even surprise men.

The Boston *Commonwealth* says:

We do not see it seriously disputed that such representative men as Wm. H. Seward, C. D. Vallandigham of Ohio, C. J. Faulkner of Va., and the rebel Gen. Forrest, have been for days in consultation together, and with Mr. Johnson, concerning the prospects of the Philadelphia Convention. The Randall and Doolittle leaders seem to have been thrust out by their rebel and Copperhead allies, although they are busy flooding the States of New York and Pennsylvania with their documents, and assert that they are sure of carrying both these States. On the other hand, some of the straight-Republicans who have been toying with the "Irish republic" think the Fenian vote will more than carry New York, and the patriots will be sure to elect Geary in Pennsylvania.

The New York *World* says that the Randall-Doolittle call "does not exclude, nor will the Philadelphia Convention exclude, those who at the South were engaged in the rebellion, because, were the Convention to do so absurd a thing, half its benches would be emptied *instanter*, and the Convention left a beggarly parody upon the Rump Congress, whose conduct it is called upon to condemn."

The New York *Daily News* thus shows what its idea is of the proper composition of the Philadelphia Convention:

"Any attempt, in the Convention, to create distinctions as regards the Southern people, founded upon their record, as individuals, during the war, should be frowned upon as fatal to the conservative cause. In fact, the chief object of the Convention, in respect to organization, is to develop and apply the political principles enunciated in the call, and the political strength of the South dwells with those who participated, heart and hand, in the rebellion. This essential truth must be accepted at the start, for to ignore it would be to discard the surest auxiliaries to success. As we are contending in behalf of the interests of the future, we must not be trammeled by prejudices that belong to the past."

The N. Y. *World* informs its readers that—

The Philadelphia Convention is a no-party convention. It cannot therefore make any party tests the standard of admission. If it were a Democratic Convention, Mr. Fernando Wood would have to cool his heels outside of the door as he did at Chicago, as he has done at Albany for many a year. If it were a Democratic Convention, Mr. Benjamin Wood, who in the *Daily News* opposed the candidates of the Democratic party in the last national election, in the last State election, in the last city election, and who is a straightforward man as well as a modest one, would never think of asking admission. If it were a Republican Convention, we suppose that to-day no man who said, as Mr. Seward did, "the Union cannot be maintained by force," that "a Union of force was despotism," that "he did not know what the Union would be worth if saved by the use of the sword," could be admitted; but if that were pardoned, his preference (since he is hopeless now of the Presidency) for the Premiership of two Administrations over fidelity to his party and the seclusion of Auburn, would certainly exclude him. But party tests do not apply to a no-party convention, and if Mr. Fernando Wood or Mr. Seward present themselves at Philadelphia, thus avowing their accordance with the objects of the call, and *are duly elected to represent anybody*, no test will exclude them which will not empty the Convention. It is, therefore, as much out of place for Mr. Weed to refuse to sit in the Convention alongside Mr. Pendleton for his copperheadism, as it would be for Mr. Pendleton to refuse to sit alongside Mr. Weed because he always denounces Radicals and then votes with them, or because, "corrupting Legislatures, he makes all good government impossible," or because he is six feet high, or for any other inappropriate reason. Has he been duly elected to represent any district? does he approve the call? If yea, then he must be admitted: if nay, then he must be excluded.

The Baltimore *American* says of the recent Johnson Convention of Maryland:

"No such gathering has been seen in Maryland since the adjournment of the Frederick Legislature, which passed resolutions favoring the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. The old States' Rights secession leaders seemed, as it were, resurrected, and came out from the quietude in which they have for years been concealed. The enemies of the Registry law, including a large number of the delegates to Mr. Blair's Anti-Registry Law Convention, together with those who opposed the election of the lamented Lincoln as President of the United States, and expressed their gratification at his death by the hand of the assassin, bore a conspicuous part in the deliberations of this motly assemblage."

The following is from the Boston *Commonwealth's* Washington correspondent:

MARYLAND AND MISSOURI.

Those intriguing Blairs—Montgomery and Frank—are determined, if possible, to bring on a political collision in these two States. Frank has already shown his wicked intent by inciting riot and murder in his meetings. The late conversation with the President by Thomas E. Noell, of Mo., in which Mr. Johnson promised aid against the State government, to which all cling but the rebels and their allies, was the result of the same inspiration. The State government of Missouri is in the hands of Radicals. Its Governor is determined to sustain the Constitution and laws. The rebels, led by Frank Blair, are determined to resist their own disfranchisement. The Governor, as in duty bound, will suppress them. They are now told to rebel, and call on the President for aid. Of course, in Presidential eyes, the Radicals will be the "aggressors."

In Maryland, the game is even a more desperate one. There the Executive has sold out to Johnson. Upon the honest execution of the registry law depends the coming election. There is a registry law, by which the rebels are excluded, with all those who can be shown to have given aid to them in any way. There can be no doubt of a Union victory in Maryland if this law is faithfully carried out. The Unionists are determined that it shall be. Gov. Swann, in the interest of "my policy," will appoint men of the Blair stripe to make the enrollment. There is a double purpose in this—directly, to enroll the excluded; indirectly, to arouse resistance from the Unionists to this violation of the law. Resistance to this false enrollment is believed to be inevitable. What then? No matter how slight, the fact will used as a pretext for charging insurrection upon the Unionists, and demanding assistance from the President. This will be accorded. Martial law will be proclaimed in Maryland, and probably in this district. The radicals are to be "crushed," or made to resist the Federal authority. There is no doubt of the plot. Whether it can be carried out is a question which a few weeks will decide.

CHAS. BUXTON, M.P., ON JAMAICA MURDERS.

Chas. Buxton, M.P., and member of the Jamaica Committee, in a letter to its Secretary, protesting against indicting and trying Gov. Eyre, allows that the massacre was a bloody one. He says:

"No one indeed can have felt deeper indignation than myself at the shameful misconduct of Gov. Eyre towards the people entrusted to his care. The report of the Commission, feeble and timid as it is, and written though it be with a manifest anxiety to exculpate the authorities, yet but too amply proves the atrocious cruelties of which they were guilty. It proves too, that these cruelties were not committed (as some have tried to make out) in order, by striking terror into the negroes, to prevent the further spread of the riot or insurrection; but that they took place after every shadow of resistance had vanished, and were simply acts of vengeance inflicted almost indiscriminately upon the negro population, with scarcely a pretence of distinguishing the innocent from the guilty. It proves that, for more than a month, the civil, naval, and military authorities went on wreaking this vengeance at their own caprice; that a couple of young lieutenants and an ensign went on hanging any one they pleased, till nearly two hundred persons had perished on the scaffold by their orders alone, besides nearly three hundred who were put to death by others. It proves that, besides all this hanging and shooting, horrible tortures were inflicted on more than six hundred persons, women as well as men, and in many cases, *in addition to the punishment of death;* and that Mr. Eyre never moved a finger to prevent or punish these atrocities.

"These facts, which at first seemed incredible to the British public, have been proved by the report of the Commission, and must cover the name of Mr. Eyre with infamy. Even those who have most eagerly advocated his cause, must allow that the governor of a colony who thus gave the rein to every one, without exception, who chose to vent his rage upon the people, without the smallest attempt to moderate their passions or restrain their cruelties, showed himself utterly unfit for the responsibilities that had unhappily devolved upon him. And with regard to Mr. Gordon, no one can dispute the conclusion of the Commission, that Mr. Eyre shared in the awful guilt of consigning an innocent man to the gallows."

Tennessee—Why Admitted?—Mr. Boutwell charged the majority with admitting Tennessee from party considerations. The Washington correspondent of the *Independent* says: "Tennessee is at last upon the floors of Congress. I do not propose to raise the question of the propriety of the vote admitting her to 'practical relations,' but to call attention to the fact that it was done to help the Republicans in the Fall elections. This was openly avowed, and it was undoubtedly the cause which produced the result."

Postponed.—Will our Contributors have patience, and their favors will appear at the earliest possible moment. We are very reluctantly compelled to postpone again "A Negro Nationality" and "Dawning Reason;" also Letters from Rhode Island, England, etc., but hope to insert all next week.

Right at Last.—The New York *Tribune* relates the following anecdote, which shows the opinions of two individuals: On Monday morning of this week, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and the editor of the *Independent* happened to meet upon the ferry-boat crossing from Brooklyn. The following colloquy ensued: Mr. Beecher—"Theodore, you and I are even." Mr. Tilton—"How so, Mr. Beecher?" Mr. Beecher—"*Your* Congress has flatted out, and *my* President has flatted out."

THE NEW ORLEANS MASSACRE.

We give below a succinct history of this horrible affair, such as can be compiled from the fragmentary and conflicting statements current. Official dispatches and details, for which we have not space this week, await publication in our next.

On Jan. 11, 1864, Gen. N. P. Banks, then Military Governor of that part of Louisiana situate within the lines of the Union army, in pursuance of President Lincoln's reconstruction plan, issued a proclamation authorizing the formation of a loyal Provisional State government. In accordance therewith, on Feb. 22, of the same year, Michael Hahn was elected Provisional Governor, and on March 28, 97 delegates for a State Convention were elected—both under the protection of Federal bayonets. This Convention sat during the Spring of 1864, framing a new State Constitution, on what were then considered progressive principles. This Constitution was, in the September succeeding, ratified by popular vote, and has since then been in force. The Convention adjourned in July of that year, subject to be reconvened by its President, E. H. Durell.

The men composing the Convention were, politically, mostly of the stamp of Gov. Hahn; that is, they were enemies to secession and Jefferson Davis, but not friends to the negro. They were willing to acquiesce in and help the abolition of slavery as a means of conquering and chastising their rebel enemies; and if President Lincoln and the public opinion of the North had also called for negro enfranchisement, they would have acquiesced in that with like alacrity. But the idea of "negro-equality" was then considered a ridiculous phantasm; and the Convention left the question of franchise unsettled—to be determined by the Legislature of the State.

Since then, the developments following in the wake of "my policy" and of the Congressional no-policy, all through the South, and especially in the Gulf States, forced the conviction on the minds of the Conventionists and others of the mild type of "Southern Union men," that they had erred in allowing the ballot to rebels and denying it to the negroes; and moves were at various times this year made by this class—embracing all there is of *white* "loyalty" in the State—toward a change for the better. The President of the Convention was called upon to reassemble the same—for what specific purpose is not very clear,—whether merely for giving an authorized public expression to the sentiment of the white loyal population, or for revising their own previous work. President Durell either refused or neglected to accede to the demand of the Convention-men, whereupon they held an "informal"* meeting, deposed Durell, and elected R. K. Howell their President. The latter then issued a call for the Convention to meet at New Orleans on the 30th ult. Meanwhile, Gov. Wells, whose previous course in the matter seems to have been extremely irresolute and vacillating, was prevailed upon to issue an order for a supplementary election, to be held in September next, for supplying vacancies in the Convention from the parishes which had been under rebel control at the time of the original election, and which were, therefore, unrepresented.

This action of the Governor, recognizing the Convention as an official body, served to excite the apprehensions of the rebels, and movements were immediately instituted for "heading off" the Conventionists. State Judge Abell (rebel), to this end, charged his (rebel) Grand Jury that the action premeditated by the Conventionists implied perjury and various other crimes, and that they should be proceeded against if attempting to carry out their schemes. Soon thereafter, Judge Abell was arrested by Federal authority for some official disregard of the Civil Rights Act, contained in a portion of the same charge. When he was again at liberty, the Grand Jury, doubting whether he had meanwhile adhered to his views, requested him to charge them again on the subject. He did so on the 23d ult., more sweepingly and pointedly than at first. But the Conventionists were not indicted, as they had not yet committed the act prospectively charged against them by the Judge.

In the interim, the (rebel) executive authorities of New Orleans and Louisiana—including the notorious J. T. Monroe, who was Mayor when Gen. Butler took the city, and who was, some months ago, specially pardoned by President Johnson, to enable him to resume the Mayoralty to which he had been re-elected under the new rebel reign—including, also, the (rebel) Lieut.-Governor, Albert Voorhies, and the ex-rebel General, now Attorney-General of the State, A. S. Herron—were not idle. On July 27th, a mass-meeting of loyalists took place, at which impartial suffrage, and the assembling of the proposed Convention were recommended. On the 25th, learning that such a meeting was called, before it yet assembled the Mayor wrote to Gen. Baird, who was in command (Gen. Sheridan being absent in Texas), and asked him what his action would

* The term "informal" is used on rebel authority.

be in the event of the Convention being broken up. The General answered that he would protect the Convention; whereupon the Attorney-General and the Lieut.-Governor telegraphed to the President of the United States, informing him of the action of the previous night's mass-meeting, and asking whether he would allow the military to interfere with the efforts of the civil authorities to break up the Convention. The President, on the 28th, answered that the military would "be expected to sustain and not obstruct or interfere with" such efforts. He also sent a dispatch to Gov. Wells, asking by what authority the Convention was to assemble. This was answered by the Governor, stating that the Convention assembled under a call from its President, according to the previous resolution of adjournment.

During several days preceding the date fixed for the assembling of the Convention, a turbulent spirit prevailed in the city, and threats were freely and openly issued against prominent white Union men and against the negroes as a body. Rebel Maj.-Gen. Roe, of Alabama, the notorious "Chief of the Thugs" (assassins), and other dignitaries of the rebel "reign of terror" of 1862, were actively organizing unofficial bodies of desperadoes, to aid in the expected bloody work. The Mayor issued a proclamation, dated July 30, enjoining the preservation of peace. At the same time, he and the Sheriff (Rebel Gen. Harry Hayes) occupied themselves in swearing in several hundred "special constables," all of which, as well as of the regular police, had been rebel soldiers, and many of which belonged to the above-named "Thug" organization. These were armed, and the old police received an extra outfit of revolvers on the eve of the Convention day.

At 12 o'clock on the 30th, the Convention met in the Mechanics' Institute. Twenty-five members were present—being one-third of the number necessary for a quorum. Immediately after organizing, the Convention ordered a recess of half-an-hour, to enable absentees to be brought in. A short time before the expiration of this recess, a procession of colored men, on their way to the Institute to celebrate the event of the Convention meeting, when about two blocks from the Institute, were attacked by white men, who attempted to capture their flag. Shots were exchanged, and the attack was abandoned. Previous to this, a pre-concerted signal had been given to the rebels, through the fire-bells, to assemble for the conflict. The places of business in the neighborhood of the Institute had been closed, and large crowds had collected in the immediate neighborhood, in anticipation of the coming events. As the procession came near the building where the Convention was sitting, the previous attack was renewed with greater vigor and evidently on an organic plan. The colored men composing the procession retired into alleys on both sides of the Institute, and there acted on the defensive, keeping their assailants at bay until 1 o'clock. Then the police appeared, with revolvers drawn, rushing at great speed toward the fated house. At first, they fired into the alleys where the negroes were concealed, killing and wounding some, and driving others out in the face of their fire, to be hunted down and beaten to death by the waiting mob. This, however, appears to have been but by-play. The objective point of the attack was the Convention, whose rooms were accordingly, as soon as the negro refuge below had been laid bare to the mob's fury, invaded. The only armed man in the Convention had previously, at the request of his companions, departed, and the police were met by an assemblage of citizens unable to offer any resistance but that of speech. But no time for parleying was granted. The opening of the doors was immediately followed by a volley of shots from the police. Then followed a scene of unrestrained killing and maiming. Those members of the Convention who tried to find refuge in the building were dragged out; others, who rushed out in mass to force themselves a passage through the mob, were intercepted by the police stationed before the building, and all were taken to the lock-up *as rioters*, by which term the Mayor thereafter invariably designated these men and their friends, and them only. While no armed resistance was offered by the Conventionists, a number of them were seriously, some fatally, wounded and bruised by, and while in the hands of, the police. The appearance of all the proceedings connected with the arrest of the members of the Convention was that of indiscriminate slaughter—the police, regular or self-constituted, firing and stabbing at will in all directions.

While these scenes were enacted with regard to the persons immediately concerned in the Convention, a general descent was made in the neighborhood of the Institute and the adjoining streets, on all negroes to be found, whether armed or not. Crowds of the populace, headed by a few policemen or by some of the secretly-banded "Thugs," swept through the streets, massacring what colored persons they could discover secreted in alley-ways, coal-sheds, street-cars, or otherwise. President Johnson's indorsement of the breaking-up of the Convention was proclaimed, and inspired the masses with new ardor. The display of rebel flags at several points in the city and the mention and cheering of the names of Jefferson Davis and Andrew Johnson, in connection, served further to inspire the masses. At 4 o'clock, the Mayor issued another proclamation calling upon the (rebel) citizens to enroll themselves as special constables, and prohibiting any one not under his authority from making arrests. With the additional organized aid thus given the rebels, the slaughter continued until five, when some (colored and white) troops, including a battery of artillery, under command of Gen. Baird, appeared in the streets to restore order. Toward night, the fury of the carnage was quelled, and the night passed in quiet. At 8 o'clock, the General issued a proclamation declaring martial law in the city, suspending the civil government, and appointing Gen. Kautz Military Governor. The persons arrested by the rebels, about 200 in number, were released by the military authority. Many of the Conventionists, however, were too severely wounded to be able to depart from their places of confinement. Soon after the establishment of martial law, the Attorney-General, Lieutenant-Governor, and Mayor called on Gen. Baird, laying before him the dispatch of the President to the Attorney-General, published in our last number, which directs him to call on the military commander for aid to sustain the civil authorities in suppressing the Convention. In consequence thereof, the details of the proposed military administration of the city were somewhat modified, but the order establishing martial law was nevertheless continued in force. Subsequently, a dispatch was sent by President Johnson to Attorney-Gen. Herron (*not* to Gen. Baird), inquiring whether the civil authorities were consulted by Gen. Baird before he proclaimed martial law, and whether such proclamation was justified by the state of things. On the 31st, the Grand Jury, under Judge Abell's charge, indicted the members of the Convention, and those who were able to be moved from their beds were re-arrested on the 2nd of August. Gen. Baird ordered a stay of proceedings, *but the President commanded him to desist.* A military commission, under Gen. Mower, was appointed by Gen. Baird to investigate the riot. Mayor Monroe addressed a letter to the General, expostulating with him for his action, and declining to act as Mayor until martial law be abrogated. Gen. Sheridan returned on the 1st inst., and on the 4th issued an order declaring the continuance of martial law. A dispatch, purporting to have been sent by Sheridan to Gen. Grant, is published, which reflects severely on the political character of the Conventionists, but which is claimed to be a mutilation of the original document. In the dispatch, as given, the General deprecates what he calls "the unnecessary cruelty" of the police, and the needless sacrifice of lives.

The state of things in Louisiana still wears an unsettled aspect; but this is certain, that rebel outrages constantly increase in frequency and atrocity, that the rebels in New Orleans and throughout the State are emboldened, and Union men correspondingly intimidated, since the 30th of July. In 1860–61, the latter had but the State authorities openly hostile to them—the General government was, if not neutral, at least, inaggressive. But now they stand under a cross-fire from both Fortress Monroe and the White House.

At present, the country is waiting for an official fixing of the guilt of this new St.-Bartholomew, and for an enforcement of the penalty thereof. The President has not yet moved—except in his several dispatches sympathizing with and encouraging the murderers. Twenty millions of people are looking to him for the balance-sheet of this account of blood. The net result of the slaughter is not exactly known, but nearly 40 persons, including some of the most prominent Union men of the State, surely have been killed, and upwards of 150, including ex-Gov. Hahn and other Conventionists, wounded.

PERSONAL.

Dr. John S. Rock, the colored lawyer and lecturer, lies very low in consumption at his residence in Boston.

A cargo of nearly 100 negro slaves was recently landed in Cuba.

Another post-*mistress* has been appointed, Mrs. Belle E. Marshall, Lebanon, Ohio—a soldier's widow.

Presidents Charles G. Finney, of Oberlin, and Leonard Woods, of Bowdoin, resign their positions.

Dartmouth has conferred the Doctorate of Laws on Gen. Sherman.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton spoke on the 29th ult., in the village of Peterboro, N. Y., the residence of Hon. Gerrit Smith, upon the subject of Reconstruction.

Justice Rood, of Opelousas, La., has been arrested and sent to New Orleans, for refusing to execute the Civil Rights bill.

The young ladies of Louisville, Ky., have taken the initiatory steps to present Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau with a new cane.

The Hon. B. Gratz Brown is to become editor-in-chief of the St. Louis *Press* upon the expiration of his time as a member of the United States Senate.

A labor congress is to be held at Baltimore on the 20th of August, which will be attended by delegates from all the States, including Oregon and California. The various mechanical trades will be represented.

Mrs. E. A. Kingsbury, who has labored successfully in New England for two years past, in the cause of the Freedmen, can for the present be addressed at Onondaga Valley, N. Y.

The following papers South have indorsed the call of the Southern Unconditional Unionists for a National Convention: *The New Nation*, Richmond, Va.; *The Nationalist*, Mobile, Ala.; *The Loyal Georgian*, Augusta, Ga.; *The Press*, St. Louis, Mo.; *The Bulletin*, Galveston, Texas; and letters have been received from prominent and influential citizens stating that delegates will be sent from South Carolina, Florida and Alabama in nearly every district, and that all the important towns or cities will send full delegations.

MORE ABOUT THE CHURCH AND CLERGY.

To the Editor of the Standard:

In a recent issue of THE STANDARD, you quote from the New York *Times* some strictures (which you well say are characteristic) on the noble appeal of WENDELL PHILLIPS, "TO THE CLERGYMEN OF THE LOYAL STATES," which appeal you had published the week previous. The writer of this article in the *Times* may call Mr. Phillips, if he will, "*the fiery apostle of anarchy!*" and so did the scribes, pharisees, and hypocrites of CHRIST'S day say of *Him*, "*He hath a devil, and is mad. Why hear ye him?*" when *He*, for like cause, said, of the time-serving priests of *His* day, "Ye devour widow's houses, and for a pretence, make long prayers." "Ye bind heavy burdens." "Ye neither enter the kingdom of heaven yourselves nor suffer others to go in." "Ye are a generation of vipers!" But, in my opinion, the time is not far distant when, for the great reformer of *this* day as of *that*, these judgments shall be reversed, and the meed of acclamation and praise be forthcoming from those very lips and those very persons who are now denouncing!

This untimely critic of the *Times* may query as to the wisdom or propriety of arraigning either the clergy or the Constitution of the United States, but, in my opinion, neither the one nor the other is worthy of the least respect, so far as they compromise the rule of right, or are disloyal to the great cardinal principle of universal justice. The writer concludes his censorious article by the somewhat oracular avowal that "the great body of the clergy preach, and will *continue* to preach, the "*gospel of peace*," which has not the remotest resemblance to the gospel according to Phillips!

Then, I say, alas for the country, and so much the worse and more shame for the so-called "gospel of peace!" For, if that gospel be adverse to, or not in accordance with, "anti-slavery principles," it is not of God, and I, for one, minister as I am, *reject it!*

The *Times* critic is, also, of opinion that Mr. Phillips's appeal to the clergy will not be deemed by them very "complimentary" (I suppose *sinners* seldom *do* so consider any call to *repentance*); but I cannot but look upon it as a noble concession on Mr. Phillips's part, to the influence, social position, and possibilities of the clergy, that he considers them even now, as in any sense, worthy of his notice, so delinquent and time-serving have they been, as a general thing, in time past, and so often false to their obligations, as the monitors of an atrocious social wrong. The best atonement they can now make for the past is, in my opinion, that they open their pulpits to *him* in future, as often as he will come to them! With a majesty of moral purpose for which he is ever remarkable, in the article under review, he makes an impressive appeal to the clergy of the loyal States, to consider, in this perilous political juncture, the weight of their responsibility, the moral force of their position, and the influence they might now bring to bear upon the great social interests of the hour. With that same earnest concern for the nation's welfare, through his advocacy of human rights, which has ever characterized him, he reiterates, like an inspired prophet, his entreaty that the clergy would now use wisely and well the balance of moral and social power they possess. I am with him in this, and shall re-echo, in my humbler way, every sound of his silver trumpet; and I would that, in what I write, whether now or in the future, I could, always, so "temper justice with mercy" as he does, and so bring to bear on this theme the same kindliness of address with the same devotion of purpose. As regards the clergy, then, whether in their present or past position, I am constrained to consider them as something more than silent accessories, and rather, in one sense, the very ringleaders and occasions of the rebellion,—"the chiefest of sinners," almost, "above all others in Galilee!" I believe, as I believe I live, that, had it not been for the notorious reticence of the Northern clergy on this subject of slavery, and not only their reticence of any protests against it, but, in too many cases, their deliberate justification of the system in open discourse (as in the case of the minister of Essex street Church, in this city so that "in Adam's fall we sinned all"), we might never have had this atrocious civil war through which we have lately passed. In other words, I believe that, if popular sentiment at the North had received, through the pulpit, its proper infusion of Christian motives and moral principle, and a right understanding of human relations and claims, and, thereby, also our congressional forces in like manner—integrated so that our Anti-Slavery principles had been unmistakably manifest to the Southerners; they would never have so presumed on secession and civil war. For what *was* the legitimate inference of the Southerners when they saw this indifference and silence of the Northern clergy on the subject of slavery? What had they a right to conclude, when they heard that Anti-Slavery sermons at the North were interdicted, or tabooed, and unwelcome to Northern congregations, and that ministers there were often excommunicated and dismissed for preaching them? What could they infer when they knew that *here*, in this very "city of the Puritans," a "Doctor of Divinity" (Heaven save the mark!) was not only—*not* "tarred and feathered" for preaching "SOUTH-SIDE" views in vindication of "*the sacredness of slavery*," but actually retained in honor! Was not their conclusion legitimate and natural, that, even if Northern clergymen *had* any Anti-Slavery sentiments or prejudices, they dared not utter them, so overbearing was the interdict of public feeling *against* such utterance; and hence, as a corollary upon which the South *might* act and *did* act in their initiation of a rebellion for strengthening slavery, *this conclusion*,—"*The North is with us*, or, at any rate, not seriously *against* us in these pro-slavery projects. Let us ask what we may, or go which way we will, the timid Yankee will be sure to follow. So, we may as well "put it through"! Well—they tried it and failed,—not so much, or not *solely*, because of Northern prowess on the battle-field, as because they fought against God Almighty and the Rights of Man!

Now, it seems to me there is no escape from this conclusion, that a great proportion of the Northern clergy *are* or have been *cowards* on this question of slavery, and influenced more or less by a timid sort of "bread-and-butter" policy in regard to it. Else, why their reticence when they saw the all-devouring progress and sway of this great dragon? Surely they could not suppose that the SCRIPTURES justified their silence in regard to such a wrong! Still less that they could justify a deliberate argument for its *right to be* and yet they be called the "HOLY SCRIPTURES!" It must have been because *they*, as preachers, were not quite ripe for social crucifixion by their outspoken convictions! There are and have been noble exceptions, I readily acknowledge, men, who, for the sake of their principles and their Christian convictions, would sacrifice, and *have* sacrificed, pulpit, place, reputation, salary, and social position, but; take them as a class, I say they are "no better than they should be!" and, all through the alphabet, from him already alluded to, who, in this city, on account of his pro-slavery sympathies, obtained the "soubriquet" of "SOUTH SIDE," to the last zig-zag of these time-servers, you may find them trimming to the "main chance" and watching the turn of the parochial breeze. I am sorry to have to say this, but it is true, and they know it. Time and again, in years past, have they argued that, though they knew slavery was wrong, an *atrocious* wrong, and even "the sum of all villanies," they did not think it right or safe to agitate or discuss it against the wishes of their people, or thus divide their parishes by the introduction of "*exciting topics!*" And this compromising and withholding of their highest and best convictions they actually justified on the ground of worldly prudence! But what sort of disciples or followers are these of Him who spake, and enjoined on *us* to speak, "*the truth*," the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, whether men would hear or whether they would forbear?

Let us hope that the days and the occasions for all such timid counsels and temporizing policies are past, and that the clergy will, at least, have courage *now* to approach and take a look, albeit with trembling, at the stricken and crippled, but by no means breathless, body of our great Southern enemy—slavery (whose body has but few of *their* arrows)—and watch with us, faithfully, lest it come to life again! It is, as I say, only a *wounded* foe, a *stricken* antagonist. We are by no means sure of its *mortal* wound as yet; for if, by any stimulants, or cordials of the Southern plotters or their sympathizing friends at the North, it *can* be revived, it *will* be! The time is therefore ripe for *all* of us, and especially for the CLERGY, in this crisis, to exercise the most vigilant resistance to such wrong: and that the God of Justice and the Source of all Wisdom may lead them to see this as with a single eye, shall be my earnest and daily prayer. JOHN T. SARGENT.

Boston, July 29, 1866.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, August 5, 1866.

MUCH indignation has been manifested in this city in consequence of the attempt of the President to remove William B. Thomas from his office as Collector of the Port. This act of Andrew Johnson is regarded by the business community as a serious detriment to their interests, and is freely spoken of as being an inexcusable outrage and an unwarrantable instance of the arbitrary exercise of power. It is one among the many acts of that bad man wherein all that characterizes true public spirit and statesmanship becomes readily substituted by the basest motives of the demagogue. The dignity and honor of the high station he occupies are shamefully surrendered to the impulses of the unscrupulous politician, and a reckless eagerness is displayed to promote the miserable purposes of his adherents. Selfish, despotic, vindictive and full of criminality is the record of Andrew Johnson. Alas! what a severe, what a wholesome lesson he is teaching the Republican party for their unwise devotion to expediency, and their madness and folly in selecting merely available, rather than unmistakably true men. It is a costly method of acquiring wisdom.

The attempt to remove Mr. Thomas has been warmly denounced by all our respectable daily papers. The *Bulletin* says: "If President Johnson had desired to insult the loyal sentiment of the people of Philadelphia, if he had been anxious to rebuke their loyalty, and to outrage them in every sense, he could not have accomplished it more effectually than he has done by the removal of Col. Wm. B. Thomas from his position of Collector of Customs, and the appointment of Wm. F. Johnston to fill his place." At a meeting of merchants held to protest against this removal, resolutions were passed earnestly remonstrating against any change of appointment to fill the important post, and apprising the President that such intention was deprecated by a large majority of those who are interested in the operations of the Custom House. This action of the prominent merchants elicited a lengthy letter from Mr. Thomas, in which he takes occasion to express his sentiments concerning the questions before the country, rebuking the President for his efforts to build up a political party of his own, by making *opinion* of his policy a test of fitness for office. Mr. Thomas says, "Having refused to 'bow the knee to Baal,' I have long known the intention of the President to remove me at the earliest moment in his power; and it has only been because he could not find a professed Republican of sufficient prominence to secure the endorsement of the Senate (whose confirmation was a necessary preliminary to my removal), and at the same time base enough to sacrifice his principles for office, that I have remained to the present time." He concludes his letter by saying that he will continue in office so long as he can do so, "in disregard of the arbitrary will which demands his removal against the wishes of the Senate of the United States, whose prerogative is wantonly invaded, and of the mercantile community, whose interests he has always endeavored to promote."

And so the President is foiled in his recreant purpose, and the wretched tool that bows abjectly to his service is left at home to nurse and salve the sting of disappointment, while Mr. Thomas, with praiseworthy resolution, retains his place, determined to hold it in defiance of the man at the White House, until his successor shall have been "*legally* appointed."

The name of Thaddeus Stevens has become somewhat prominent among liberal men in connection with the United States Senate. It would be an act worthy of high applause for the Legislature to give him the position to be made vacant by Senator Cowan, but that such a consummation will be gained is by no means certain. The Republican party of this State is not in the habit of bestowing favors of this kind upon men of such positive character and emphatically liberal opinions as distinguish this gentleman, but is prone rather to put forward some less bold, less ardent and progressive personage. It does not manifest zeal in promoting one too closely identified with the cause of human freedom. It is slightly jealous of those whose position is too marked or well-defined, and who are a head and shoulders above their fellows. It has studied and practiced expediency too long to turn its back upon that political art, and would worship mediocrity for the sake of a success, rather than choose the best man at the risk of failure. One would suppose that Cowan's case would be an all-sufficient warning to the party in this State to beware of taking a false step, and of reposing confidence in an uncertainty.

August fourteenth is approaching, and the new rebel raid will soon make its descent upon our city. Sympathize with us in our peril, and pray for our safety! Perhaps we shall live through the danger, however, and survive the jeopardy. But what a noxious blemish will be left upon our city's historic record! Think of the conclave that will assemble here! It seems as though some evil genius had searched throughout the whole land in quest of fit material to compose this loathsome political gathering. We may recognize it as a revival of all the old bad elements in American politics—the dark and abhorred ghost of the buried past galvanized into being to plot villany and organize mischief. In looking over the names to see what conspicuous traitors will *not* be in our midst on that dire occasion, we discover cause for exultation. The name of Andrew Johnson is not in the list! Therefore, let us rejoice. True, the evil spirit that animates him will be here, in conjunction with that of him who drags a weary existence in Fortress Monroe, and the twain will impress the whole assemblage with a conscious sensation.

Let the rebel host convene. The bolder error becomes in its demonstrations, the mightier will truth be to combat it. It will buckle on a stronger armor, and be more determined to overthrow its adversary. Let them come. They come to subserve the interests of traitors, and not to encourage loyalty with hope; therefore the mournful New Orleans tragedy will not be repeated here. Let them look upon the hands of the President, and see how they are stained with the blood of his helpless victims. Let them go on in their support of his criminal measures, and advocacy of his wicked policy, which so directly leads to such dreadful, such heart-rending disasters. True men, faithful to liberty and justice, will draw closer and closer into unity, calling thousands to their side, and this guilty man with all his coadjutors will be overwhelmed, and that wretched policy be blotted out forever. W.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, August 6th, 1866.

THE *Daily Advertiser* of this morning declares the present Congress to be one of the most faithful and laborious that ever met, and is convinced that its members have done their duty. Perceiving, however, that the work of reconstruction yet remains to be done, and that the thing needed is education of the adults, even more than of the children, at the South, it proposes the use of the following methods, which it thinks "would soon break up" that train of Southern thought and feeling which produced the rebellion, and which is still exerting itself to prevent the establishment of equal and impartial freedom.

The *Advertiser* proposes, first, to make "efficient use of the local press" in the South, and next, to have a large gratuitous circulation of documents teaching the principles of republican government; its third and chief device for the purpose in question is that, in the great centres of Southern population, "there should be maintained journals of the first ability, with ample capital, ready to give every day full interpretation of the necessities of the hour to men who do not know, and who have shown that they do not know, what is best for them."

In other words—to teach men who are not only deplorably ignorant, but perversely resolved not to listen for a moment to the sort of information here proposed to be offered, all that this counsellor thinks necessary is to provide abundance of such means as might answer the purpose if the population in question were friendly and docile. The remedy here seriously proposed, is to bring an immense number of buckets of water to the horse that has determined not to drink.

It seems as if the plan above recommended was too absurd to be worth refutation or comment, yet it is seriously put forth by a paper whose utterances, wise or unwise, are the product of deliberate thought and purpose. If such things must be answered, however, one would ask—

How is any efficient use to be made of the local Southern press, when the subscribers to it would not take into their houses, still less pay for, a publication upholding loyalty, freedom and justice, as *we* understand those terms. The very attempt to insinuate these, in moderate doses, into the mass of spiteful malignity by which newspapers distinctively Southern are supported, would cause not only fermentation, but explosion. If those people do not know what is best for them, as the *Advertiser* truly says, they know how to resist and expel what is hateful to them. Since the Administration has pushed so vigorously its course of favor to rebels and discouragement to loyalists, both black and white, the tide has turned, and Northern settlers are leaving the South, finding neither life nor property secure there. There is now far less chance of a rightly-directed local press there than there was six months ago.

Again, how will you circulate campaign documents teaching the true principles of republican government among a people not only utterly opposed to such ideas, but recognizing the course of governmental policy to have taken a turn in their favor, that is to say, in the direction opposite to those principles? While the President is displacing loyal men from office, and installing those of the other persuasion, will copperheads turn towards loyalty? Is rebellion likely to abandon its pretensions while they receive countenance and support from the Administration? In a case of depravity so nearly total, you need stronger measures than a distribution of tracts.

Lastly, suppose Northern men were so regardless of labor and expense, and so blind to probabilities, as to establish daily newspapers, at once sound and able, in the cities of Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, Nashville, Mobile and New Orleans, among populations utterly and bitterly hostile to the ideas, men and measures favored by those papers. What good purpose would be answered by such a step, as the minds of Southern men are now inclined? And, if the present policy of government is to continue, how long would such papers be suffered to exist in those places? The whole of such a movement would be the mere throwing away of time, money, labor, and the lives of just and loyal men. At present, nothing but the strong arm can keep down those new manifestations of the spirit (and body too) of rebellion which are seen in most of the Southern States; and the People's strong arm can hardly act effectually in the South, until it checks by a firm grasp the career of the chief traitor at Washington. Reason is thrown away upon Johnson and his fellow-Southrons. They need repression.

7th.—I went last evening to a meeting in the Tremont Temple, advertised as called by the "National Association for the Instruction of Colored Preachers and Teachers for Freedmen." A handbill distributed at this meeting informed the audience that this Association had been in existence a year and-a-half, and that its work is partly missionary, partly educational. Its Seminary for the instruction of Preachers, is at Washington, D. C., and is called the "National Theological Institute." It proposes to carry on the same work on the island of St. Helena (near Beaufort and Port Royal), and to establish elementary secular schools there and at other places in the South, as its means shall increase. For the present, the handbill admits, the instruction must, in a great degree, be elementary. But the system will be enlarged in proportion "as young men taught in the various secular schools are converted." After declaring the Association to be "inaugurating a system of Christian education," the handbill goes on to say—"As by our charter we are allowed to admit persons of all religious opinions to the privileges of our school, the work is not sectarian, but national in its character." This seemed to me a *non sequitur*, the promise hardly authorizing either conclusion. The disclaimer of sectarianism did not count for much, as I never knew a person who did not disclaim it, and declare himself free from it. The handbill, however, made mention of no sect, and the word "National," has certainly a large and comprehensive aspect, in spite of our being accustomed to great names in Boston, where we have a "Continental Livery Stable," and an "International Billiard Saloon."

It seemed rather strange that the getters-up of this meeting and the officers of this "National" and unsectarian Association should *all* be Baptist ministers. But further light was thrown upon the matter by a copy of the (Baptist) *Watchman and Reflector, Extra*, which was also distributed to the audience, and which gave a full account of the Association, saying, among other things—

"The Constitution requires all the officers and members to be members of the Baptist Church; so that, while open for the instruction of all men by the charter, its control, by its Constitution, is in the hands of the Baptists."

Of course this Association is not sectarian. Its handbill expressly declares this. But if circumstances should ever put the control of its operations into the hands of Methodists, or Episcopalians, or Presbyterians, every Baptist would immediately assume that it had become sectarian. And (such is the force of preconceived opinion) perhaps the Methodists, and Episcopalians, and Presbyterians think it is sectarian now, notwithstanding the disclaimer. Such diversities of sentiment will happen.

The newspaper advertisements and the great Posters at the door of the Temple seemed to lay much stress on the announcement that Senator Wilson would speak at this meeting on the "State of the Country;" and probably the large audience that came together in the Temple was drawn chiefly by the expectation of his presence.

It was expected that Rev. Dr. Turney of Washington, Secretary of the Association, would be present at this meeting with some of his pupils, to give more minute details of the working of the enterprise, and specimens of its success. A letter, however, had been received, announcing the unavoidable detention of those persons. In place of them, Rev. Mr. Grimes of this city, who had seen the schools in question, and who knew the necessities of the regions where they are operating, made some brief remarks, urging the necessity of large pecuniary contributions to continue and extend their operations. Twenty thousand dollars were needed. One thousand had already been promised (in case the full sum should be raised), and he thought this meeting ought to give one or two thousand more. So the boxes were sent round after Mr. Grimes's brief speech, and some verses of a hymn kept the audience patient during this time, while they were waiting for the great attraction of the evening, the speech of the Hon. Henry Wilson.

Mr. Wilson's appearance gave rise to great and long continued applause, which was often repeated in the course of his speech. He spoke in his usual deliberate style, with much quiverment of the fingers, after the manner of the late Rufus Choate. The advantage of this method is that, when you can't think of the right word, you can occupy the attention of the audience by an impressive agitation of the fingers until the word comes to you. The counterbalancing disadvantage is that the impressiveness of this act is apt to wear off after a short time.

The Chairman of the meeting, before presenting the Senator to the audience, had given a glowing eulogy of the Senate, and Mr. Wilson modestly presumed the applause which greeted him to be due to his connection with that body, which indeed was worthy of all praise. He enumerated its merits with great energy of speech and gesture, and aroused the audience to loud expressions of feeling in its honor. He spoke in appropriate (though moderate) terms of the President, who he said had forsaken the party that had elected him, and forsaken also the colored race whose "Moses" he had formerly promised to be. He expected nothing good from the policy now inaugurated by Andrew Johnson, yet he was not discouraged, and did not despair. He seemed entirely satisfied with the Constitutional Amendment, which he declared the grandest provision passed in this generation, and he felt sure that the States lately in rebellion would be compelled to adopt it. His expressions reminded me of Sheridan's account of some soldiers whom he had seen "dragging a Volunteer to his duty."

Mr. Wilson had no present remedy to propose for the evils that are now afflicting the country, and seemed not to have thought of any as possible. He is essentially a party man, and cannot be expected to act except by party methods. The mainspring of his confidence in a successful ultimate issue from our national troubles seemed to be the expectation that, when a new Congress shall be elected, it will be *as* good and faithful as the present one. To those who think that the present Congress has done some evil and inexcusable acts, and has left undone many things of the weightiest importance which it could and ought to have done, this consideration will not bring much comfort.

NORTH.

NORTHAMPTON, August 4, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

IN my letter, published in THE STANDARD of last week, for the word, in the first paragraph, erroneously printed "elegant," substitute "eloquent;" and instead of "furnished," in the last paragraph, read "favored"

Yours truly, SETH HUNT.

LITERARY.

The *Westminster* finds an unsatisfactory indefiniteness in Mr. Baker's book (referred to in a late STANDARD) in regard to its identification of the Nile sources. It says:

"The total result of all this courageous endurance of every kind of physical want and of the most tormenting diseases amounts to little more than that, in our future maps of Africa, we can exchange the old notice of 'here there be elephants,' for the equally true but equally vague one of 'here there be lakes.' The notion of possible trade, and of ultimate civilization in its traces, is inconsistent with any sober estimate, either of the resources of the country, or of the difficulties of transport from them. The ethnographical gain seems to us to be but very small. The character of savages is identical wherever they are found: the small differences which they display flow directly from the greater or less difficulty with which they supply their physical needs. In a general sense it may be said that, within certain limits, the less the difficulty the greater the savagery. The whole country south of Gondokoro is utterly demoralized by the slave trade. Without much care for the future in any shape, how can a savage African guide himself by such ideas as he can form of it, while subject to a scourge that makes any future but sudden death or slavery a thing hardly to be hoped for. Of course they live for the present day, and have no character at all, except such as may be attributed to those who are under the uncontrolled influence of the desires of the moment."

Of a book recently published in London by Longmans & Co.—"The Homes of the Working Classes; with Suggestions for their Improvement, by James Hole"—the *Fortnightly Review* says:

"At such a moment, a book like Mr. Hole's is most opportune. Few men are so well qualified to select the facts from which a sound judgment can be formed, as Mr. Hole, of Leeds. Inspired by strong social sympathies, gifted with an eminently practical understanding, thoroughly familiar through the labors of many years with the condition, habits and wants of working men, he speaks with an authority which will be recognised, not only by every one in the North of England who takes an interest in such matters, but by many in London, and even on the Continent, to whom his name is well known. His book exhibits in a compact and luminous form the conditions of this difficult problem, and abounds with useful suggestions towards its solution. The volume is embellished with twenty-two sketches and plans of model cottages and villages, such as Akroydon, Copley and Saltaire. No one who studies the subject, or meditates an experiment on ever so small a scale, ought to be without this useful treatise.

"One of the commonest arguments against prohibiting the erection of houses below a certain standard of comfort is, that the poor cannot afford to pay a higher rent. Mr. Hole, who is a strong advocate for uniform regulations to be fixed by the legislature, answers that they must and will pay for the dearer house if a cheaper is not to be had; and he instances Manchester, where the operatives, with more precarious earnings than those of Leeds, pay higher rents because the municipal regulations of Manchester compel the erection of better houses. But this is not all. If the workman's necessary expenses increase, his wages must increase in proportion. 'Reduce the beef-fed workman to a diet of potatoes, and his wages will gradually fall to the standard which will barely maintain him on that diet. It is, in fact, an element of competition. Introduce the labor of his wife and children into his occupation, and his wages will be reduced, not merely through their competition, but also as a consequence of the additional assistance derived from their earnings. It has the effect of lowering the *necessity* for a certain sum. Reduce the amount required for rent by transferring him from a comfortable dwelling to a lodging-house or inferior cottage, and, though he may appear to get a temporary advantage in the saving, the probability is that his wages will fall to the point needed to maintaim him in the lower condition.'"

The Chicago *Republican* denies the statement that Mr. Dana left its editorial chair because the proprietors determined to *Johnsonize* that journal, and says that they have no idea of making any such change in the character of the paper as is indicated by the word "Johnsonize." They claim to be radical to the core on every vital issue before the country. The Chicago *Evening Journal*, in this connection, says: "Three of the editors and one of the financial managers of the Chicago *Tribune* have, in conjunction with J. W. Bunn, Esq., the wealthy banker of Springfield, Ill., bought up the stock of the Chicago *Republican*. They have all seceded from the *Tribune*, and will take possession of the *Republican* on the 1st of September. Van Buren Denslow, who has for the past two years been the principal editorial writer for the *Tribune*, is to be the managing editor of the *Republican*."

"A CURIOSITY OF LAW; or, a Respondent in the Supreme Judicial Court as a Judge in the General Court; and what possibly came of it. By Elizur Wright, late one of the Insurance Commissioners." This is the somewhat elaborate title of a decidedly personal pamphlet, written in Mr. Wright's well-known pungent and satirical style of sharp exposure of others' alleged wrong-doing, and apparently honesty and earnestness of self-defence. The author says in the outset of his production that it "is an appeal from the Legislature of Massachusetts to the people themselves," and of course he wants a general reading. Sold by the booksellers.

The *Nation* has passed from the hands of an association into those of a partnership—Godkin, McKim & Co. More independent consistency in political bearing may therefore be expected of it in the future. Of the two partners named, Mr. E. L. Godkin is the editor of the paper, and Mr. J. Miller McKim was one of the foremost promoters of the enterprise at the start, and the heaviest shareholder in the Association. A leading article, entitled "Steering for the Rocks," in a recent number, gives good promise.

Rev. Dr. Hedge's recent oration before the Alumni of Harvard is highly spoken of—Ralph Waldo Emerson pronouncing it the best oration he has ever heard. The views presented were bold and original, the orator suggesting the doing away with daily recitations and the system of marks, in our colleges, and that students pursue their studies in their own way, with occasional examinations; that they be treated more as men than as boys, and that the use of coercion be dispensed with.

There is news from Natal that Dr. Colenso has issued a hymn book in which the words Jesus and Christ are left out, the word God, wherever possible, being substituted.

Frances D. Gage formerly wrote stories for children under the *nome de plume* of "Aunt Fanny," and many who knew her by this name have inferred that she is the "Aunt Fanny" of *Our Young Folks*. This is a mistake.

The author of "Ecce Homo" has affixed a new preface to his latest edition, and Messrs. Macmillan have published it separately in a pamphlet form. The preface does nothing to disclose the author's name.

The New York *Skandinavisk Post* is to be changed into a daily paper. An association of Scandinavians has been formed in New York to that end.

The publishers of "Bohn's Standard Library" are about to enhance the value of that popular series by adding to it the writings of Emerson, in two volumes.

ART ITEMS.

"A Century of Painters of the English School" is the title of a work just published in London, which must prove useful to artists. Its authors are Messrs. Richard and Samuel Redgrave. It contains an account of the progress of art in England, and critical notices of the works of the painters to whom it relates.

The London *Saturday Review*, of July 14, has a long criticism upon Bierstadt's "Rocky Mountains." The critic is favorable, on the whole, but thinks the artist somewhat weak in the drawing and details of mountain forms.

The death of William Bewick, at the age of seventy, is announced. He was the son of the famous draughtsman and engraver on wood, and a pupil of Haydon. He was the model for the head of Lazarus, in the picture by his master Haydon, who frequently mentions him in the *Diary*, vol. II., p. 34.

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Miscellaneous Department.

[Coleridge pronounced the sonnets of Wordsworth the best since those of Milton and Shakspeare. We print a few of them, and shall add a few more, selecting those generally esteemed his best.]

ON THE EXTINCTION OF THE VENETIAN REPUBLIC.

Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee;
And was the safeguard of the West; the worth
Of Venice did not fall below her birth,
Venice, the eldest child of Liberty.
She was a Maiden City, bright and free;
No guile seduced, no force could violate;
And, when she took unto herself a mate,
She must espouse the everlasting sea.
And what if she had seen those glories fade,
Those titles vanish, and that strength decay;
Yet shall some tribute of regret be paid
When her long life hath reached its final day:
Men are we, and must grieve when even the shade
Of that which once was great, is passed away.

The world is too much with us; late and soon,
Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers:
Little we see in Nature that is ours;
We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon!
This Sea that bares her bosom to the moon;
The winds that will be howling at all hours,
And are up-gathered now like sleeping flowers;
For this, for everything, we are out of tune;
It moves us not.—Great God! I'd rather be
A Pagan, suckled in a creed outworn;
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea;
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn.

PERSONAL TALK.

I am not one who much or oft delight
To season my fireside with personal talk,
Of Friends, who live within an easy walk,
Or Neighbors, daily, weekly, in my sight:
And, for my chance-acquaintance, ladies bright,
Sons, Mothers, Maidens withering on the stalk—
These all wear out of me, like Forms, with chalk
Painted on rich men's floors, for one feast-night.
Better than such discourse doth silence long,
Long, barren silence, square with my desire;
To sit without emotion, hope, or aim,
In the loved presence of my cottage fire,
And listen to the flapping of the flame,
Or kettle whispering its faint under-song.

SEPTEMBER, 1802.

Inland, within a hollow vale, I stood;
And saw, while sea was calm and air was clear,
The coast of France, the coast of France how near!
Drawn into almost frightful neighborhood,
I shrunk, for verily the barren flood
Was like a Lake, or River bright and fair,
A span of waters: yet what power is there!
What mightiness for evil and for good!
Even so doth God protect us, if we be
Virtuous and wise. Winds blow, and waters roll,
Strength to the brave, and Power and Deity,
Yet in themselves are nothing! One decree
Spake laws to *them*, and said that by the Soul
Only the Nations should be great and free.

WRITTEN IN LONDON, SEPTEMBER, 1802.

O Friend! I know not which way I must look
For comfort, being, as I am, opprest,
To think that now our Life is only drest
For show; mean handy-work of craftsman, cook,
Or groom! We must run glittering like a brook
In the open sunshine, or we are unblest.
The wealthiest man among us is the best:
No grandeur now in nature or in book
Delights us. Rapine, avarice, expense,
This is idolatry; and there we adore;
Plain living and high thinking are no more;
The homely beauty of the good old cause
Is gone; our peace, our fearful innocence,
And pure religion breathing household laws.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1802.

Among the capricious acts of Tyranny that
Disgraced these times, was the chasing of all
Negroes from France by decree of the
Government: we had a fellow-passenger
Who was one of the expelled.

Driven from the soil of France, a Female came
From Calais with us, brilliant in array—
A Negro Woman, like a Lady gay,
Yet downcast as a Woman fearing blame;
Meek, destitute, as seemed, of hope or aim
She sat, from notice turning not away,
But on all proffered intercourse did lay
A weight of languid speech, or at the same
Was silent, motionless in eyes and face.
Meanwhile, those eyes retained their tropic fire,
Which, burning independent of the mind,
Joined with the lustre of her rich attire
To mock the Outcast,—O ye Heavens, be kind!
And feel, thou Earth, for this afflicted Race!

COMPOSED UPON WESTMINSTER BRIDGE, SEPT. 3, 1803.

Earth has not anything to show more fair:
Dull would he be of soul who could pass by
A sight so touching in its majesty:
This City now doth like a garment wear
The beauty of the morning; silent, bare,
Ships, towers, domes, theatres, and temples lie
Open unto the fields and to the sky;
All bright and glittering in the smokeless air.
Never did sun more beautifully steep
In his first splendor valley, rock, or hill;
Ne'er saw I, never felt, a calm so deep
The river glideth at his own sweet will:
Dear God! the very houses seem asleep;
And all that mighty heart is lying still!

1801.

I grieved for Bonaparte, with a vain
And an unthinking grief! for, who aspires
To genuine greatness but from just desires,
And knowledge such as *he* could never gain?
'Tis not in battles that from youth we train
The Governor who must be wise and good,
And temper with the sternness of the brain
Thoughts motherly, and meek as womanhood.
Wisdom doth live with children round her knees;
Books, leisure, perfect freedom, and the talk
Man holds with week-day man in hourly walk
Of the mind's business: these are the degrees
By which true Sway doth mount; this is the stalk
True Power doth grow on; and her rights are these.

HARVARD CLASS SONG OF 1866.

BY EDWARD WALDO EMERSON.

We stand by the knee of our mother,
She tenderly bids us go,
In the world's fight stand by each other,
Firm banded in weal and woe;
And never in spirit craven
Cease striving hand and heart,
For the Truth on her buckler graven,
Till the silver cord shall part.

Be ours the manhood daring,
Dear mother, thy charge to keep;
Thy word in our bosom bearing
Into life's thronged lists we leap.
Forever thy heroes' story
Shall stir like a trumpet call—
Up hearts! the light of their glory
Be the star that leads us all.

Sweet thoughts from past years flowing
Shall not our purpose dim;
Who takes his hand from the plowing,
The Kingdom is not for him.
Farewell! farewell to thee, mother,
We love, but we turn away:
Thy task performed, to another,
Sixty-six goes forth to-day.

IT NEVER COMES AGAIN.

There are gains for all our losses,
There are balms for all our pain;
But when youth, the dream departs,
It takes something from our hearts,
And it never comes again.

We are stronger, we are better,
Under manhood's sterner reign;
Still we feel that something sweet,
Followed youth with flying feet,
And will never come again.

Something beautiful has vanished,
And we sigh for it in vain:
We behold it everywhere,
On the earth and in the air,
But it never comes again.

BEREAVEMENTS.

From the Boston Daily Advertiser.

The simple, but characteristic and touching inscription, prepared by Mr. Carlyle for the monument of his wife, which we printed a few days since, could not fail to remind our readers that some of the most affecting episodes in the lives of literary men have been connected with domestic beravements. The tribute of Sir James Macintosh to his wife is among the most remarkable in the language:

"I was guided in my choice," he says, "only by the blind affection of my youth. I found an intelligent companion and a tender friend, a prudent monitress, the most faithful of wives, and a mother as tender as children ever had the misfortune to lose. I met a woman who, by the tender management of my weaknesses, gradually corrected the most pernicious of them. She became prudent from affection; and though of the most generous nature, she was taught economy and frugality by her love for me. During the most critical period of my life, she preserved order in my affairs, from the care of which she relieved me. She gently reclaimed me from dissipation; she propped my weak and irresolute nature; she urged my indolence to all the exertions that have been useful or creditable to me, and she was perpetually at hand to admonish my heedlessness and improvidence. To her I owe whatever I am, to her whatever I shall be."

It detracts somewhat from the romance of the case, perhaps, that Sir James became consoled for his loss, in just one year from the time of his great bereavement, by a second marriage. And here we may venture the somewhat obvious remark that the domestic histories of remarkable men are the most pleasing records of literature, for the reason that, in these matters, every reader, however humble, has a sort of personal interest in the narrative, readily recalling his own feelings in similar circumstances, or the history of his own friends, and so having a community of joy or sorrow with distinguished personages of other times. It must be confessed, too, that the cool and business-like way in which biographers sometimes dispose of affecting domestic events is noticeable, especially when, as in the case just mentioned, the reader has hardly got over his emotions of sadness at the end of one chapter, and is told at the commencement of almost the next one of the happy marriage of the man for whose intense grief his eyes are still moist. It rarely happens that a man who is his own Boswell does not manage this matter with more delicacy. The case of the Rev. Dr. Spring may be regarded as a remarkable exception. This well-known octogenarian has recently favored the public with lively Personal Reminiscences of his Life and Times, in which he copies extracts from his private journal, that are not seldom "rich and rare." Thus, under date of Aug. 7, 1860, he writes, "this morning at half-past 8 o'clock, my sweet wife was released from this scene of debility and suffering," and, after a particular account of her sickness and a statement that she was the mother of fifteen children, he indulges in a strong expression of his feelings—not unnatural, but perhaps as well suppressed in the printed volume—and winds up with some verses in which the soundness of doctrine is more remarkable than the poetic expression. Just five pages further on, in the very next entry in the diary, the worthy Doctor, after admitting that his "sweet wife was too valuable a woman ever to be forgotten," and that he "never thought he could love another," says that he had advanced beyond three score years and ten, was partially blind and needed a helper fitted to his age and condition:

"No one needs such a helper more than a man in my advanced years. I sought and God gave me another wife. A few days only more than a year after the death of Mrs. Spring, on the 14th of August, 1861, I was married to Abba Grosvenor Williams, the only surviving child of the late Elisha Williams, Esq., a distinguished member of the bar. She is the heiress of a large property, and retains it in her own hands. She is intent on her duty as a wife, watchful of my wants, takes good care of me, is an excellent housekeeper, and instead of adding to the expenses of my household, shares them with her husband."

In addition to which remarkable circumstance, the autobiographer asserts that:

"Not until after our mutual engagement was entered into, did we know that we were descended from the same stock, and that our grandmothers were sisters."

A French author gives an account of a nobleman who lost his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, and with thoughts occupied only with the hope of joining her in another world, shut himself up for three years in a religious retreat. He uttered a prayer to God, which some may be surprised to find in the mouth of a French marquis: "*d' accroitre mon courage et de me laisser ma doleur.*" Give me strength, but diminish not my sorrow! Certainly a most delicate and poetical sentiment. But the bereaved husband was still young, and after three years of retirement, he quits it, marries again and plunges into political intrigues and the worldly ambition of his class. The writer from whom we derive the account remarks with calmness and placidity, "This is one type of our inconstant nature. But here the very intensity of one feeling seemed to forebode the reaction of the opposite; and the change appears so natural, so almost inevitable, that we rather sympathize with it than otherwise." In other words, those widowers who apparently and demonstratively suffer the most under such circumstances are the surest to be early consoled by a new arrangement. They may not, like Dr. Spring, "ask God for another partner," but they are pretty sure to find one, nevertheless.

The dedication of Mill's book on Liberty is familiar to all:

"To the beloved and deplored memory of her who was the inspirer, and in part the author, of all that is best in my writings—the friend and wife whose exalted sense of truth and right was my strongest incitement, and whose admiration was my chief reward—I dedicate this volume. Like all that I have written for many years, it belongs as much to her as to me; but the work as it stands has had, in a very insufficient degree, the inestimable advantage of her revision; some of the most important portions having been reserved for a more careful re-examination, which they are now never destined to receive. Were I but capable of interpreting to the world one-half the great thoughts and noble feelings which are buried in her grave, I should be the medium of a greater benefit to it than is ever likely to arise from anything that I can write, unprompted and unassisted by her all but unrivalled vision."

Horace Mann thus wrote of his deceased wife—the daughter of Rev. Dr. Messer of Brown University, who lived but two years after her marriage.

"She supplied me with new strength for toil and new motives for excellence. Within her influence there could be no contest for sordid passions or degrading appetites; for she sent a divine and overmastering strength into every generous sentiment, which I cannot describe. She purified my conceptions of purity, and beautified the ideal of every excellence. I never knew her to express a selfish or an envious thought; nor do I believe that the type of one was ever admitted to disturb the peacefulness of her bosom. Yet in the passionate love she inspired, there was nothing of oblivion of the rest of mankind. Her teachings did not make one love others less, but differently and more aboundingly. Her sympathy with others' pain seemed to be quicker and stronger than the sensation of her own; and with a sensibility that would sigh at a crushed flower, there was a spirit of endurance that would uphold a martyr. There was in her breast no scorn of vice, but a wonder and amazement that it could exist. To her it seemed almost a mystery: and though she comprehended its deformity, it was more in pity than in indignation that she regarded it; but that hallowed joy with which she contemplated whatever tended to ameliorate the condition of mankind, to save them from pain or rescue them from guilt, was, in its manifestations, more like a vision from a brighter world, a divine illumination, than like the earthly sentiment of humanity. But I must forbear; for I should never end were I to depict that revelation of moral beauties which beamed from her daily life, or attempt to describe that grace of sentiment, that loveliness of feeling, which played perpetually, like lambent flame, around the solid adamant of her virtues."

The period which elapsed before Mr. Mann's second marriage is not stated in his biography. It appears to have been something over ten years—a length of time which is very unusual in such cases.

A Wonderful Cat.—Three years ago I had a lovely kitten presented to me. Her fur was of a beautiful blue-grey color, marked with glossy black stripes, according to the most approved zebra or tiger fashion. She was so pretty that she was called "Pret," and was, without exception, the wisest, most loving, and dainty pussy that ever crossed my path. When Pret was very young, I fell ill with a nervous fever. She missed me immediately in my accustomed place, sought for me, and placed herself at my door until she found a chance of getting into the room, which she soon accomplished, and began at once to try her little best to amuse me with her little frisky kitten tricks and pussy-cat attractions. But soon finding that I was too ill to play with her, she placed herself beside me, and at once established herself as head nurse. In this capacity few human beings could have exceeded her in watchfulness, or manifested more affectionate regard.

It was truly wonderful to note how soon she learned to know the different hours at which I ought to take my nourishment, and during the night if my attendant was asleep she would call her, and if she could not awake her without such extreme measures, she would gently nibble the nose of the sleeper, which means never failed to produce the desired effect. Having thus achieved her purpose, Miss Pret would watch attentively the preparation of whatever was needed, and come with a gentle purr-purr and announce its advent to me. The most marvellous part of the matter was her never being five minutes wrong in her calculations of the true time, even amid the stillness and darkness of night. But who shall say by what means this little being was enabled to measure the fleeting moments, and by the aid of what power did she connect the lapse of time with the needful attentions of a nurse and her charge? Surely we have here something more than reason.—*Routlidge's Natural History.*

Mr. Seward and the "Prodigal Son."—It seems to us quite strange that so much fault should be found with Mr. Seward's terms of restoration of the rebel States.

He said, in one of his Auburn speeches, that "if they came back like the prodigal son, and desired admission, he was perfectly willing, for his part, to receive them, and to kill the fatted calf."

Is anything wrong in these conditions? Let us inquire *how* the prodigal came back.

First.—He came *voluntarily.*
Second.—He came *bankrupt.*
Third.—He came *penitent.*
Fourth.—He came *confessing his sins* against heaven and his father.
Fifth.—He came foregoing the *son's* place and asking only the *servant's* place.

To comply with Mr. Seward's conditions the rebel States must come,

First.—Voluntarily. But they have come back only because they were *whipped back*.

Second.—Bankrupt. They meet this condition; but some of them want another slice to make up for what they have squandered on those twin harlots—slavery and rebellion.

Third.—Penitent. They are *very sorry*, but it was *only* because their rebellion was a *failure*.

Fourth.—Confessing their sin. But, like the Pharisee, they justify rebellion, or the going away from their father's house.

Fifth.—Acknowledging the forfeiture of their prerogatives as States; but, instead of this, they *boldly demand* the son's place—that is, the same rights and privileges as if they had stayed at home and behaved themselves.

Now it seems to us that Mr. Seward's theology is as correct as his statesmanship, and that it would be well for him to advise Uncle Samuel that kissing these prodigals before they have complied with these terms is not orthodox.

The position of Mr. Seward is evidently all right. We see, however, one objection to it. If we keep our fatted calf till the prodigal States comply with his terms, our calf will have become an ox before we can keep the feast. Still, on the whole, it will be as well, perhaps, to wait, as Uncle Sam has plenty of corn.—*Washington Chronicle.*

The great lesson to be learned by military men from the present war in Germany (says the *Times*) is the irresistible superiority of breech-loading rifles in action. The Austrian army in Bohemia was supposed to be numerically stronger than the Prussian, it contained a far larger proportion of veteran soldiers and probably of scientific officers, it was commanded by a man second in reputation to no general in Europe, it was fighting on the defensive for a cause which, as against the invaders, is a good one, and in a country of which the population is loyal to the house of Hapsburg, and yet it has been gradually driven back, with a loss estimated by the Prussians at 30,000 or 40,000 men, and is now said to be greatly dispirited by the series of reverses which it has sustained. It was for some time supposed that "strategical reasons" of an unexplained and mysterious nature might have induced Marshal Benedek to fall back, point by point, towards a position selected by himself for a general engagement. This supposition is no longer tenable. It is altogether incredible that such a resistance as was offered by the Austrians at Skalicz, Trautenau, and Munchengratz was a feint, after all, or that Gitschin was allowed to be stormed, and Prince Frederick Charles to effect a junction with the Crown Prince, in the hope of drawing the enemy to the battle-ground between Koniggratz and Josephstadt, where nothing but a decisive victory could avail Austria, and where a crushing defeat might open to the Prussians a way to Vienna. In these sanguinary conflicts, the Austrian troops fought obstinately and well, but they were fairly beaten, and they were beaten, according to all the accounts that have reached us, by the more rapid fire of the Prussian infantry. From first to last, it is the needle-gun that has apparently carried the day, and the needle-gun is simply a breech-loading rifle of very indifferent quality. In principle, as well as in construction, it is not to be compared with several breech-loading rifles manufactured by English makers; but, imperfect as it is, it has proved quite good enough to secure victory for the Prussians in almost every encounter. If we refer to the letter of our correspondent, at the head-quarters of the First Prussian Army, we find ample proofs of its extraordinary effect. It was this which mainly enabled the Prussians to force the passage of the bridge over the Iser at Podoll, between Turnau and Münchengratz. The Austrians had occupied the village through which the road passes towards the bridge, and commanded all the approaches from windows and barricades thrown up across the street. But the Prussian riflemen "fired about three times before the Austrians, armed only with muzzle-loading rifles, were able to reply." This more than compensated for any disadvantage in numbers or position, and the Austrians seem to have been completely overmatched. "In the street, the Austrian soldiers, huddled together *and cumbered with clumsy ramrods*, were unable to load with ease, and could return no adequate fire to that of the Prussians, while these, from the advantage of better arms, poured their quick volleys into an almost defenceless crowd." It was the same at the railway bridge, about two hundred yards distant, where a like struggle was going on simultaneously. "Here, too," says our correspondent, "the needle-gun showed its advantage over the old-fashioned weapons of the Austrians, for the latter fell in the proportion of six to one Prussian." At last, the former retreated, leaving most, if not all, of their killed and wounded on the field, and it was found that not only was the number of Austrian dead much greater, but that in the hospitals "the proportion of wounded Austrians to wounded Prussians was as five to one." These are startling results, and yet they are no more than any one unfettered by military prejudices would have anticipated.

If swindlers were more familiar with science, frauds of a serious nature would indeed be frequent. Fancy, for example, a bill at three months' date, written in ink which completely disappeared in as many weeks! Such a thing is not impossible. But a more possible fraud has been shown to the French Academy at one of its late sittings by a distinguished *savant*. M. Frenny exhibited a diamond weighing about four grammes, which, under its ordinary condition, is slightly tinted yellow; but which, when submitted to a high temperature, assumes a rose tint, which it possesses for several days, only gradually being restored to its original hue. The diamond, which, at the time of exhibition, had the rose color, was kept in the cabinet of the Institute until the next meeting, when its original yellowish tint was restored. Now, the price of an ordinary diamond of the weight we have mentioned would be about 60,000 francs; but, with its delicate rose tint, it would be worth three times as much! This peculiar change having been observed, it may be quite legitimate to ascertain if any other diamonds possess this chameleon-like accomplishment.

A Correspondent informs the *Times* that in Switzerland the telegraph is the property of the State, an office is established in almost every village, and the charge is uniform, one franc for twenty-five words, irrespective of distance. The dispatches are printed, and the establishment yields a large revenue to Government. The writer advocates a similar system in England where the need for it is greater than in Switzerland, and where the profit would be enormous. We have repeatedly pressed this idea upon the public as one which would equalize facilities of communication, greatly increase trade, and yield a revenue which Mr. Gladstone may apply if he pleases to reduce the national debt. At present our messages are badly sent at dear rates, whole districts are without telegraphs, and the State gains nothing.—*Spectator.*

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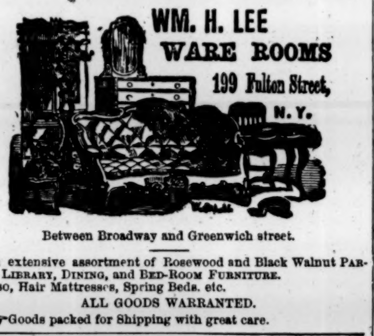

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W. D. SEIGFRIED, No. 254 Shackamaxon st.

A

[From the Rev. E. D. Fendall, Assistant Editor *Christian Chronicle*, Phil.]

I have derived decided benefit from the use of Hoofland's German Bitters, and feel it my privilege to recommend them as a most valuable tonic, to all who are suffering from general debility or from diseases arising from derangement of the liver.

Yours truly, E. D. FENDALL.

[From Rev. D. Merrige, Pastor of the Passyunk Baptist Church, Phil.]

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D. MERRIGE.

From Rev. Wm. Smith, formerly Pastor of the Vincentown and Millville (N. J.) Baptist Churches.]

Having used in my family a number of bottles of your Hoofland's German Bitters, I have to say that I regard them as an excellent medicine, specially adapted to remove the diseases they are recommended for. They strengthen and invigorate the system when debilitated, and are useful in disorders of the liver, loss of appetite, etc. I have also recommended them to several of my friends, who have tried them, and found them greatly beneficial in the restoration of health.

Yours truly, WILLIAM SMITH,
966 Hutchinson street, Phil.

N

[From the Rev. Joseph H. Kennard, Pastor of the Tenth Baptist Church.]

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